PÍCARAS, MORISCAS AND *CONVERSAS*: THE DOUBLE-MARGINALIZATION OF THE "ORIENTAL OTHER" IN SPAIN'S EARLY MODERN PICARESQUE NOVEL

by

María Electra Gamón Blanch Fielding

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Languages and Literature

The University of Utah

May 2012

The University of Utah Graduate School

STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

The dissertation of **María Electra Gamón Blanch Fielding**

has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

Elena García-Martín	, Chair	**1/20/2012** Date Approved
Gary Atwood	, Member	**1/20/2012** Date Approved
Gema R. Guevara	, Member	**1/20/2012** Date Approved
Isabel Moreira	, Member	**1/20/2012** Date Approved
Jerry Root	, Member	**1/20/2012** Date Approved

and by **Fernando Rubio**, Chair of the Department of **Languages and Literature**

and by Charles A. Wight, Dean of The Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

In this project, I explore the *pícara*'s representation as both prostitute and woman of hybrid origins. I argue that the *pícara*'s representation as a racialized prostitute is designed to generate a distorted mirror image of those aspects of society that do not fit within the idea of a homogeneous Christian/European Spain. The situation of Spain during the Early Modern period posits a challenge when evaluating its multicultural background. Although the Spanish state strived to create an image of a Spain pure and free of Oriental cultures, the presence of these cultures in various aspects of Spanish life gives evidence of the fact that there was indeed a cultural contact from which Iberian culture borrowed and adapted aspects of Muslim culture. The application of postcolonial theory and recent cultural studies theory is an important tool for understanding the tensions and strains that this cultural contact brings into the formation of a European/Spanish identity as a nation. Literary production, such as the picaresque novel, delves into problematizations of identity through its marginal characters. In the case of the female picaresque novel, the double-marginalization of the protagonist becomes apparent. The crafting of this double-marginalization is achieved through the exposition of an ambivalent attitude toward the *pícara* of both fascination and repulsion, reflecting the dynamics of desire between the male/subject and the woman/object, as well as the attitudes that the Christian community had toward the ethnic minorities of the Iberian Peninsula. This dissertation focuses on the analysis of the following works: *La Lozana*

andaluza by Francisco Delicado (1528), *La pícara Justina* by López de Úbeda (1605), and *La hija de la Celestina* by Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (1612). In their portrayal of the three main *pícaras*, Lozana, Justina and Elena, the diegetic masculine voices take advantage of prevalent stereotypes and perceptions about the Muslim and Jewish communities. All three of these *pícaras* are products of a long tradition of maurophilia and maurophobia in Spanish literary production. They are alluring in their beauty (due to maurophilia) and objectified, demonized and exploited without fear of reprimand (due to maurophobia). The historical context within which these works are written only exacerbates these maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies. Contextualized within the fantasy of the nation, the *pícara* is that which Spain as European nation *should* not be.

To Michael for his support and constant encouragement.

To Jasmine and Christian who grew up along with my writing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would never have been able to finish this dissertation without the guidance of my supervisor, the support of my committee members and my colleagues, and the encouragement of my husband, family and friends.

I would like to thank first and foremost my supervisor, Dr. Elena García-Martín who painstakingly advised, suggested and lovingly guided me from the very first stages of this dissertation through its completion. I am especially grateful for her timely responses, her help during my research and her professionalism. I can honestly say that I have grown as a scholar thanks to her direction and example. I would like to also thank Dr. Jerry Root, who reviewed the first drafts of the manuscript and who always had a word of encouragement while guiding me in the right direction. I would like to thank Dr. Gary Atwood, Dr. Gema Guevara and Dr. Isabel Moreira whose suggestions and insights were always a source of inspiration in order to strengthen my project.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in the Department of Foreign Languages at Weber State University for their constant encouragement and for accommodating my work schedule in order to give me ample time for research and writing. I would like to especially thank Dr. Alicia Giralt whose enthusiasm convinced me that I could indeed apply to a PhD program and succeed in my endeavors.

I am extremely thankful for friends and family on both sides of the Atlantic who always offered their help and their unconditional support. Finally, I would like to

especially thank my husband Michael, and our children, Jasmine and Christian. Only they know the rewards and the sacrifices that this experience has entailed for me personally and for us as a family. They have been my biggest source of strength, support and love.

INTRODUCTION

"seis nombres de P, conviene a saber: Pícara, Pobre, Poca vergüenza, Pelona y Pelada"
La pícara Justina

In her description of the picaresque lifestyle, Justina very shrewdly "forgets" the sixth P that defines the three *pícaras* studied in this project: the P for prostitute. *Pícaras*, perhaps not as popular or well received as their male counterparts, appear in various works of Spanish Early Modern literature. The picaresque genre is traditionally identified with *el pícaro*, the rogue that tells the reader, in a confessional mode and an entertaining style, the adventures and misadventures of his life. Some of the most famous *pícaros* of Early Modern Spanish literary production are Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzmán de Alfarache and don Pablos. These *pícaros* have been the center of many critical studies and have been habitually considered the three canonical figures of the picaresque genre. One common trait of the picaresque novel is "the unreliable biographical stance of a lower-class rogue who changes his identity to suit his material needs" (Cruz, "Introduction" 3). The efforts to classify certain works as canonical picaresque novels (*Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzmán de Alfarache* or *El Buscón*) have resulted in the relegation to obscurity and exclusion from canon of those works that do not completely fit the traditional description of the picaresque novel. Jannine Montauban, for instance, explains how recent canonical picaresque criticism is still influenced by traditional approaches and a repetition of the same themes (*Otra margen* 10). Some of the works on the borderline

of the picaresque classification belong to the female picaresque tradition. As Anne Cruz remarks, because the female picaresque novel shares only a few of the traits regarded as part of the canonical picaresque, some critics do not consider it part of the genre ("Introduction" 7).

The term 'female picaresque novel' is understood to refer to a work that exhibits picaresque traits and whose main protagonist is a *pícara*, a female rogue. The vast majority of the female picaresque in Early Modern Spain has been authored by male writers. As a matter of fact, it is almost impossible to find examples of picaresque novels authored by women.[1] Although the female picaresque novel does not always fit within the parameters established by the picaresque canon, such as the biographical first person narration, the central role of hunger, the many masters the *pícaro* serves, or the violence suffered by the rogue, current studies demonstrate that there exists a cohesiveness in the female picaresque novel, from which shared points of departure for a critical reading and understanding of the *pícara* narrative can be found. In recent years there has been a newfound interest in the female picaresque novel of Early Modern Spain. The latest studies along these lines include works by critics such as Anne Cruz, Edward Friedman, Jannine Montauban and Enriqueta Zafra. These critics have centered their analysis on poverty and the dynamics of economy, sexuality and reproduction, witchcraft,

[1] "El castigo de la miseria" by María de Zayas, includes picaresque elements, although it is not a picaresque novel with a *pícara* as protagonist, but only as one of the characters. Anne Cruz also remarks that "some female narratives are linked to the picaresque because of their autobiographical stance and rebellion against social rules" ("Introduction" 7-8). Some critics read *La monja Alférez* as a picaresque novel, but considering that Catalina de Erauso lived most of her life as a man, and considered herself one, it would be difficult to classify his/her book as written from the perspective of a woman. Although seriously contemplated to be included in this project due to the duality of masculine/feminine voices and its undeniable picaresque traits, *La monja Alférez* is not contextualized within the world of prostitution. Furthermore, the protagonist, Catalina herself, is a Basque woman. The Basque country is considered to be one of the areas of the Iberian Peninsula with the least Middle-Eastern influence. Consequently, because Catalina/Alonso/Antonio does not practice prostitution and is not racialized, she or he is not included as part of this study.

delinquency and prostitution. These traits are common to the canonical picaresque novel, however, they have different implications when contextualized within a story where the main protagonist is a woman. For instance, poverty is a common denominator in both the canonical picaresque and the female picaresque novel. But whereas the *pícaro* is constantly hungry due to his poverty and comes from a destitute background, the *pícara* does not suffer hunger because she sells herself in order to avoid poverty. She is also an indigent, but she is able to subvert her seemingly inescapable fate as a member of the poorest classes and procure a good life (in most cases) for herself. Poverty is a common theme, but it is approached from a different perspective depending on the gender of the protagonist.

Although these studies make reference to issues such as prostitution or delinquency, that are essential for an understanding of the female picaresque novel, they forgo analysis of a trait shared by most of these *pícaras*: their hybrid origin. The recognition of the hybrid nature of the *pícara* enhances her role as a deviant member of society. My contribution to current literary criticism that focuses on *pícaras* and female picaresque novel is the exploration of how the *pícara*'s hybridity shapes the representation of the *pícara* as prostitute. I will show how the manipulation of the *pícara*'s hybrid background and her subsequent exotization become crucial in order to deconstruct the figure of the *pícara*. The utilization of the term hybrid and/or hybridity in this project will fit within the parameters of recent Postcolonial theory. In his book *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha speaks of hybridity as "a difference 'within', a subject that inhabits the rim of an 'in-between' reality" (19). The hybrid subject is considered different from mainstream society in certain aspects, and belongs in an "in-between"

space. The hybrid subject is caught between worlds. In the case of the female picaresque novel, we encounter three *pícaras* who share a mixed origin: all three of them are racialized and their apparent white/Christian origin is mixed with Orientalized elements. Bhabha's definition is suited to these *pícaras* who are perceived as different from mainstream society and who inhabit a liminal space where they are able to negotiate their identity. They usually present themselves as Christian to society and to the reader, but there are recognizable markers in their appearance and customs that identify them as members of Spain's ethnic minorities. A tension between what is seen and perceived and what lies beneath the surface emerges. In a society concerned with projecting itself as a homogenous white Christian population after the *Reconquista*, the fact that ethnic and religious minorities could bend the system and make themselves pass for the majority preoccupied the Spanish state.[2] Bhabha's perspective on hybridity problematizes the question of identity. If these *pícaras* are racialized members of ethnic communities, why can they so effectively fool others into perceiving them as white Christian women? Because the hybrid subject inhabits a liminal space, she is able to move between worlds, an ability that all three *pícaras* studied in this project, Lozana, Justina and Elena, will demonstrate.

The *pícara*'s ability to pass herself for others and her constant negotiation of identity includes an effort on her part to hide those markers that would identify her as a member of an ethnic minority. This chameleonic nature of the *pícara* brings up the question of colonial mimicry, as posited by Bhabha: "colonial mimicry is the desire for a

[2] *La Reconquista* refers to the time period between 718 and 1492 during which Christian forces, relegated to the North of the Iberian Peninsula after the Muslim invasion in 711, begin taking territory from the Arabs. *La Reconquista* was started by Pelayo in Asturias, Northern Spain. Since then, Northern Spain has been considered the place where Spain's Christianity was never under Muslim rule. Even today the crown prince of Spain carries the title of "Príncipe de Asturias" (Grieve 12-13).

reformed recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (122). The emergent Spanish nation during the Early Modern period wished for a uniform Spain, and the way that this uniform Spain could be achieved was by assimilating the perceived Oriental other, whether Jewish or Muslim, into mainstream Christian Spanish society. A "reformed recognizable Other" would give the impression of cohesion and social homogeneity, but it would also allow for identification of difference. In Spanish Early Modern society, it was necessary to be able to identify the difference in those who were descendants from these ethnic minorities from those who were not. Serious social consequences flow from these differences: demonstrating "purity" of Christian blood, avoidance of persecution by the Inquisition, and becoming a functioning part of the mainstream community. The *pícaras* will successfully fool, deceive and subvert their projection as an exoticized other many times, although the writer will always leave markers in the text that will guide the reader to understand that the anti-heroine is indeed an exoticized other. This duplicity provides the author with the opportunity to utilize the prevalent stereotypes that were applied to minorities and create an (anti)heroine that fits within those perceptions. The dual nature of the (anti)heroine will serve as a source of entertainment, as the reader is aware of the *pícara*'s attempts to fool others through the reinvention of her identity.

The three *pícaras* included in this project are women whose genealogy and appearance make reference to an ethnic origin that is not fully Christian/European. Taking this trait into account, a new perspective of the representation of the *pícara* emerges. This new perspective gives this (anti)heroine a different dimension which is directly tied to Iberian literary production. Racialized and nonracialized *pícaras* do share

common traits, such as avoidance of poverty by marriage and/or tricking men, their eloquence and the ease that they show when communicating verbally, and finally, a peculiarity that is common to both *pícaros* and *pícaras* alike: *el ingenio* or wit.[3] The racialized *pícaras* studied in this project operate within the world of prostitution, a trait that distinguishes them from other nonracialized *pícaras*.[4] Thus, the main protagonists of the female picaresque novels that will be analyzed in this project share two defining attributes: they are all exotic women from a white/Christian perspective, and they are all prostitutes. This exotic element creates an ambivalent reaction in those who come in contact with them, including the reader: these prostitutes are appealing, yet they bear markers of difference. Their ancestry is mixed with the other ethnic groups that had co-habited with the Christian community in the Iberian Peninsula: Jews and Muslims. All three *pícaras* are described as beautiful and alluring. Men who see them cannot help but desire them. But again, the exotic element, their difference, while making them objects of desire, cannot be hidden. The clues in the text mark them, always, as different, subversive and even as a danger to maintaining the social order in a (white/Christian) patriarchal society.

---

[3] Examples of nonracialized pícaras are the (anti)heroines in works such as *Teresa de Manzanares*, *Las harpías en Madrid* or *La garduña de Sevilla*, all three novels written by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In these cases, the novel resembles a courtesan novel and the tricks played by these *pícaras* seem more playful than harmful. The novels also avoid any graphic allusions to the sexual activities of the *pícara*.

[4] The term racialized and the concept of race will be approached in this project as social constructs that are completely arbitrary. They will be contextualized according to how race is perceived by Europeans in the Medieval and Early Modern periods. I will follow Paul Gilroy's concept of identity: "Identity helps us comprehend the formation of that perilous pronoun 'we' and to reckon with the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that it cannot help creating" (Gilroy 99). Identity, thus, is a fictitious construction that does not have anything to do with the physical appearance of the body, but on how the body is read by others. Reina Lewis also emphasizes the concept of race as based on perceptions and the historical background of a cultural group. She explains that race is "a historically variable process of racialization – the processes by which groups or individuals come to be ascribed a racial identity – and not as a word that simply denotes a given, innate, static, neutral classification" (2).

Taking into consideration the cultural and historical framework within which these works were produced and consumed (these books emerged during the expulsions of Jews and Muslims from Spain), it is not surprising that the representations of these racialized *pícaras* reflect the preconceptions, misconceptions and prejudices of Early Modern society, as well as the perception of the non-Christian exotic woman by the male Christian narrator. In diegetic terms, we know that the actual author is not always a Christian free of ethnic minorities in his genealogy. There is enough evidence to assert that Francisco Delicado was a descendent of Jewish converts, while Francisco López de Úbeda is assumed to be so as well. However, the diegetic voice presents itself as masculine and apparently Christian. This voice will comment from a Christian perspective on the *pícaras*' behavior. Depending on the narrator, some of these comments are harsher and more critical than others, as it will be seen. Although the male counterpart of the *pícara*, the *pícaro*, also shows signs of hybridity, he is not sexualized in the same manner that the *pícara* is. The *pícaro*'s main goal is to fill his stomach and avoid hunger, while procuring a more comfortable life for himself. He is under the tutelage of various masters and learns from experience how to achieve his goals. The occasional references to the *pícaro*'s mixed origin become a natural part of the confessional, autobiographical mode of the canonical picaresque novel. Other than mentioning his ancestry in this autobiographical context, he does not manipulate or use to his advantage his ethnic background. The *pícaro* does change his identity, not in the context of race, but rather in the context of class. The *pícara* utilizes both her hybrid body and her ability to disguise herself to move between ethnic groups and different social spaces. The racialized *pícara* does not answer to various masters; she works alone

or with partners.[5] This may be because in the Early Modern period many prostitutes preferred to work alone rather than being subject to the rules and control of a prostitution house (Zafra 21). The *pícara* is sexualized both because of being a woman and because of her exotic nature, but unlike the *pícaro*, she willfully uses her body to procure for herself a more comfortable life and to survive in a society where she is perceived as a subversive element:

> Mientras ellos están sometidos a los avatares del hambre y la miseria, ellas – debido a los réditos de la prostitución – rara vez pasan hambre y poseen, además, la posibilidad de ocultar su condición mediante el disfraz que les permite alternar con clases más elevadas. Si no son víctimas del hambre, son en cambio, víctimas predilectas de la vejez, del deterioro físico y de las enfermedades venéreas. (Montauban, *Ajuar* 79)

The main difference between the *pícaro* and the *pícara* is precisely the *pícara*'s ability to sell her body, to present herself as exotic and appealing, and gain that way the pecuniary gain that will bring her stability and some food to the table. *Pícaros* such as Lazarillo de Tormes or don Pablos invoke a mixed genealogy, but they do not take advantage of their hybridity to negotiate their identity. The *pícara*'s hybrid body becomes a tool and the means of her earning money, comfort and security. While the archetypal *pícaro* suffers constant hunger, the *pícara* lives a comfortable life, although venereal diseases and poverty in old age are a reality that concerns these stories. The *pícara* is also aware of how, by manipulating and negotiating her identity, she is able to reinvent herself and make herself pass as mainstream white, or as an ethnic minority member. Although the *pícaro* also negotiates his identity and makes himself pass for others, the *pícara* is quite

[5] An exception would be Elena, the protagonist in *La hija de Celestina*, who is under the control of Montúfar, her partner in crime, pimp and husband. However, Elena shows and expresses time after time a desire to leave this relationship so that she can be on her own.

successful in her endeavors, while the *pícaro* is in many cases discovered.[6] This chameleonic aspect of the *pícara* is a result of her hybrid nature: because she is in a liminal space, between two different worlds, she can negotiate her identity and fool others into perceiving what she considers most advantageous to her situation at that particular time.

In this project, I explore the *pícara*'s representation as prostitute (also witch, courtesan or public woman) and woman of hybrid origins. I argue that the *pícara*'s representation as a racialized prostitute is designed to generate a distorted mirror image of those aspects of society that do not fit within the idea of a homogeneous Christian/European Spain. This mirror image serves as a means of determining the role of ethnic minorities in Spain and to bring to light the existence of this marginalized, but very real part of Spanish society. This distorted image emphasizes the reality of the Spanish people as a hybrid nation, rather than as the fantasy of a pure Christian/white nation. The result is a dichotomy between the image that Spain tries to project and the reality of the Spanish people. This dichotomy also shows the anxiety that the presence of ethnic minorities and the inability to read the Other's body as such produces in Spanish society. Although the *pícara* carries the stigma of belonging to Spain's ethnic minorities, she is also an object of desire. The *pícara* is an ambivalent representation of those ethnic minorities and the conflicting impressions that their presence produces in the Spanish imaginary.

---

[6] There are various examples of the *pícaro*'s unsuccessful efforts to pass himself for others, among them: Lazarillo in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, makes himself pass for a mouse and a snake while living with the priest in order to steal bread from him. His ruse is discovered in the most violent manner. Don Pablos in *El buscón* makes himself pass for a rich gentleman when courting a young lady when he is discovered by one of his previous masters.

The situation of Spain during the Early Modern period posits a challenge for scholars when evaluating its multicultural background. Although the Spanish state strived to create an image of a Spain pure and free of Oriental cultures, the presence of these cultures in various aspects of Spanish life gives evidence of the fact that there was indeed a contact between Iberian and Muslim culture. Postcolonial theory and recent cultural studies theory, such as the work of Homi Bhabha, provide an important means for understanding the tensions and strains that this cultural contact brings into the formation of a European/Spanish identity as a nation. Literary production such as the picaresque novel delves into problematizations of identity through its marginal characters. In the case of the female picaresque novel, the protagonist is doubly marginalized because of the inferior status implied in her gender and race. This double-marginalization also exposes an ambivalent attitude toward the *pícara*: fascination and repulsion, reflecting the dynamics of desire between the male/subject and the woman/object, as well as the attitudes that the Christian community had toward the ethnic minorities of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, could it be argued that the *pícara* is in reality a mirror for Spanish society's fears of a loss of identity when confronted with the truth of its own hybridity? As Patricia Grieve remarks,

> While the ancient traditions that cast women as harlots or saints can thrive anywhere and anytime, in Spain they are linked, legendarily and historically […] to the virulent anti-Semitism that characterized Spanish society, and the treatment of Jews and Muslims through the centuries. In other words, sometimes a woman is more than a woman. (33)

It is, after all, the woman, the essentialized feminine, who carries and transmits culture. By portraying in the female picaresque novel protagonists who are women and members of ethnic minorities, the writer is representing a hybridized Spain that does not fit within

the concept of Spain as Christian/white/patriarchal nation. The *pícara* is more than just a deviant woman. Additionally, because the feminine is linked to the idea of motherland (Heng 31), even to the idea of representations of nation, it is possible to argue that the *pícara* signifies a deformed reflection of nation. At this moment in history Spain is emerging as nation-state, and part of this emergence involves presenting itself as a European power, with no traces of ethnic difference within it. The *pícara* is precisely the contrary to that ideal: because of her ethnic origins, she is hybrid, mixed and of "impure" blood. The fact that these *pícaras* do not raise children, connotes the notion that they are not able to transmit their culture and their customs to the next generation, and foreshadows the fate of Spain's ethnic groups as needing to be either expelled or assimilated into mainstream culture.

This dissertation focuses on the analysis of the following works: *La Lozana andaluza* by Francisco Delicado (1528), *La pícara Justina* by López de Úbeda (1605), and *La hija de Celestina* by Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (1612). These works represent the *pícara* as a prostitute and as a woman of hybrid origins, of a mixed genealogy, both through direct references in the text and through markers left for the reader to examine. The fact that these three works are conveyed through masculine voices allows for an analysis of how the masculine gaze perceives the racialized prostitute. The specific historical placement of these works influences the portrayal of each *pícara* and her fate in the storyline. *La Lozana andaluza* is written in the immediate years following three events important to Spain's status as a nation: the finalization of the *Reconquista* in 1492, the shift from nation-state to emerging empire with the colonization of America, and the expulsion of the Jews, also in 1492. These events, especially as they

relate to ethnic minorities, have an effect in Delicado's writing, an exiled convert himself. Lozana is portrayed as a Jewish convert and her story shows the life of those Jews who were exiled to different places, including their lifestyle and customs. *La pícara Justina* and *La hija de Celestina* allow for a view of Spain's society within a decadent empire. *La pícara Justina* is written but a few years before the final expulsion of *moriscos* from Spain in 1609, while *La hija de Celestina* is written in the years following this expulsion. Justina's representation highlights her wit and her ability to negotiate her identity to, in the end, achieve her goals and be successful. Justina is both of Jewish and *morisco* origins, and in her story there are multiple markers that identify her as such. In the last work, *La hija de Celestina*, it is possible to also find negative representations of the exotic other, a reflection of the historical and cultural changes regarding *moriscos*, especially after the enforcement of the "Pragmática sanción de 1567" and the rebellions in Las Alpujarras, in Southern Spain. *La hija de Celestina* highlights negotiations of identity, but the main protagonist suffers the harshest punishment of the three *pícaras*, which may very well be interpreted as a reflection of the ramifications of the final *morisco* expulsion. In both *La pícara Justina* and *La hija de Celestina* we find also a negative representation of the exotic other, a representation filled with maurophobic undertones that underlines the shift in perceptions towards a more negative view of an exotic other degraded to the point of demonization.

In all three works, the *pícara* functions within parameters of objectification and exotization: she is objectified as a woman and exoticized as an ethnic minority. The result is an ambivalent effect: the *pícara* is both desired and rejected, even demonized. She is desired and objectified because she is beautiful, a beauty that comes precisely

because of her mixed blood, but she is also rejected by mainstream society because of her hybrid origin. Bhabha's theories on the stereotype coincide with the dynamics of social relations in the Iberian Peninsula at this point in history. The relationships between colonized and colonizer of Bhabha's theories are certainly applicable to the relationships which existed between the Christian majority and the Jewish and Muslim minorities in Early Modern Spain. Bhabha explains how the stereotype is characterized by fixity and essentialization of difference. This essentialization and fixity of the stereotype can be found in the female picaresque novel in that these *pícaras* exhibit a number of similar traits with few variations through their portrayal as hybrid objects. Some of these traits are exotic beauty, the suffering of venereal diseases, use of discourse and body to achieve their goals, mobility and sexual wantonness. These characteristics are repeated, exaggerated and fixed because the *pícara* (colonized, hybrid, minority) cannot escape her stereotyped nature.

The objectification and exotization of the *pícara* gyrate around one central aspect of her character: desire. The nature of desire is twofold in the female picaresque novel because it is perceived (in most cases blatantly) when the *pícara* becomes the object of male desire, but it can also be observed in the *pícara*'s sexual desire for the man. The *pícara* is desired precisely because of her difference: she is exotic, she is alluring and she will accommodate whatever the man desires to please him. The *pícara* is other because of her gender and because of her ethnicity, and as a result she is construed as a subject completely foreign to man. Furthermore, the *pícara* represents an aspect of the feminine that is completely out of bounds from the patriarchal system: she does not comply with the ideal feminine (chaste, passive, virtuous). As a matter of fact, she is portrayed in

complete opposition to it, becoming a subversive entity. In this project there will be references to *Tratados de conducta* written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by authors such as Joan Lluís Vives and Fray Luis de León, in order to understand the ideal of the Christian feminine and how the *pícara* is constructed in opposition to this ideal. These *Tratados de conducta* usually expressed a "desire to shape behavior and regulate the body to conform to norms of what was considered acceptable" (Harllee 203). The *pícara*'s behavior fights these norms of conduct while her body, instead of conforming to moral standards will be utilized as a commodity. The *pícara* becomes a negative image of the ideal Christian woman.

In his book *Orientalism*, Edward Said suggests that Europe defines itself in direct opposition to Oriental cultures, and that Oriental cultures were traditionally "linked thus to elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having in common an identity best described as lamentable alien" (207). According to Said, Europe defines itself not only by establishing the Orient as everything that Europe is not, but also by making a direct connection between the marginalized of European society and the Oriental other. Robert Dainotto takes this idea a step further: "Europe, in the context described by Said, could fathom its identity not only by opposing itself to the Orient but by matching itself against those *internal* elements of Western society" (Dainotto 54). By internal elements, and following Said's *Orientalism*, Dainotto refers to specific societal groups, mostly marginalized groups that have no say in a white patriarchal society. Women are included among these marginalized groups. The representations of women belonging to an ethnic minority would be utilized to, in the process, define the ideal Christian woman. If the white Christian woman is supposed to be virtuous, then the

racialized *pícara* would be the complete opposite. These oppositions are observed continually in the portrayal of all three *pícaras*, who on a regular basis represent everything that the idealized Christian woman is not. As a matter of fact, because the authors' (anti)heroines are racialized prostitutes these authors are allowed more freedom in describing deviant behavior. The result is the emergence of an Orientalized *pícara* in the female picaresque novel who is represented as such by the masculine voice of the narrator. This Orientalized *pícara* is such because she is given qualities perceived to be "Oriental." In the relationship between narrator and protagonist, the protagonist, the *pícara*, is constantly under the influence of the narrator. Even though she can speak for herself, the narrator always functions as the filter through which the reader perceives the *pícara*. This creates a situation of control over the *pícara*. Said maintains that "The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be 'Oriental' in all those ways considered commonplace […] but also because it *could be* […] *made* Oriental" (5-6). The Orient, according to Said, is made oriental because there is a relationship of power between Occident and the Orient, in which Occident has the control to create a certain image of the East. This image is constructed based on the perceptions and stereotypes of the European male voice. The *pícara* takes on the role of femme fatale, the temptress who is man's main weakness, an Eve that will destabilize the patriarchal discourse and in the process bring about the fall of man. On the other hand, because these *pícaras* are part of minority ethnic groups, it is expected that they would subvert Christian mores because their character, due to stereotyping, would be considered to be naturally destabilizing.

But why would a white man desire the *pícara* if she is so far removed from convention and the demure behavior expected of the Christian woman? And what effect does the *pícara*'s own articulation of desire have in her performance? Although the *pícara* is portrayed as beautiful and enticing, an object of desire, she also expresses desire and becomes an active participant in sexual relations. Lozana choses Rampín as her lover and has no qualms expressing her attraction to him. Justina marries various times, and although there are few references to her sexual encounters, in her story she comes forth as knowledgeable and straightforward in the matters of lovemaking. Elena's beauty is the source of her income and the perdition of men, but she also shows desire independently from pecuniary gain. The *pícara* is a desiring subject herself, even when she would seem to be at the mercy of the control of the masculine narrative voice. In this expression of desire, and especially in her eloquence, the *pícara* emerges as an antagonist to the ideals of the virtuous Christian woman; however, her portrayal is not innovative or even unanticipated. It is the product of years of the Orientalized other's representation in Iberian literature.

The *pícaras*' direct discourse and eloquence serve two purposes. First, they allow the reader to know the (anti)heroine first hand. In the case of Lozana, the dialogued form of the work allows the reader to accumulate a direct knowledge of Lozana's character and motives. Justina tells her story written in the first person, allowing again for first-hand knowledge of the *pícara*. Finally, Elena is dominated by the third person narrative voice, but she is able to tell about her childhood and formative years in a chapter of first person narration. Regardless of the narrator's control over the *pícara*, there is little doubt that these three women utilize and manipulate speech masterfully, in order to trick and

deceive. This is a characteristic common to all *pícaras* and *pícaros*, racialized or not, who depend not only on their appearance, but also on their speech to trick and deceive. Second, their eloquence sets them apart from the ideal of the demure Christian woman, who is traditionally to be silenced and to remain silent, since it was believed that women are naturally not inclined to speak and to reason because they are limited in their intellect (León 125). Furthermore, because their eloquence is also taken as a sign of their straightforwardness and of non-Christian behavior, this voice and type of discourse connects them directly to previous literary representations of Orientalized women.

Besides eloquence, the three *pícaras* share various characteristics common to the stereotypes of Orientalized women in Medieval and Early Modern literary production. These representations are characterized by the woman's eloquence, her straightforwardness, her beauty, and her active role when in an amorous relationship. I will compare and contrast the *pícaras* to those other female literary representations of Jewish or Muslim origin that precede them or are contemporary to the *pícara* in order to establish an evolution of these representations. Excerpts from *Las jarchas*, *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer*, and from the *novela morisca* will be used in order to frame the cultural context within which the exotic woman is defined in Early Modern Spain, and to unveil the *pícara* as a result of this historical portrayal of the exotic woman. Oriental women have been traditionally represented, according to Said as "the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing" (207). Although Lozana, Justina and Elena are definitely not naïve and exhibit a bright intellect and a domination of discourse, they are represented as sensual beings who are active participants in the matters of love, a

characteristic that appears in previous representations of the exotic woman. These three *pícaras*, however, are different from their literary ancestors in that they demonstrate a different type of sensuality in their constant search for financial comfort. This study will also frame the development of the exotic other (both male and female) within tendencies of maurophilia and maurophobia. Maurophilia and maurophobia are reactions to the presence of Moors and *moriscos* in the midst of Iberian society, and reflect the ambivalent attitude of love and hate toward them. These tendencies remain in the Spanish/Christian imaginary and consequently influence the representations of ethnic minorities, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in the writings of literary authors.

Subversive identities represented by women, however, are not limited to only racialized prostitutes. There are also transgressing identities within literary representations of Christian women. This study will include, as well, examples of these identities, specifically within Early Modern Theater. Theater allows for an understanding of mainstream culture, especially when taking into account works by Lope de Vega or Calderón de la Barca who were extremely popular among the masses. Having in mind that the picaresque genre was also written for entertainment (many picaresque novels became "best-sellers), albeit from a marginalized perspective, the comparison and the analysis of the differences between *pícaras* and transgressing *cristianas* will produce new insights when stressing traits such as exaggerated sexuality or wit in the racialized *pícara*. While the *pícara* demonstrates a forward sexuality and unquestionable sexual desire, the transgressing *cristiana* is not allowed these demonstrations. A love interest, rather, is the motor that will push the transgressing *cristiana* into motion. Also, the fact that she is under the tutelage of the patriarchs in her family, whether fathers or brothers, will require

her to leave the home under disguise and to trick and deceive those around her. However, while the *pícara* maintains her agency, the transgressing *cristiana* will need to bend to patriarchal mores in the end. She achieves her goals of marrying her beloved, but first she will be discovered, reprimanded and even threatened. It also becomes necessary to recognize those *pícaras* who are not racialized, such as the main protagonists in *Teresa de Manzanares* or *Las harpías de Madrid*. These Christian *pícaras* also subvert patriarchal modes, but the graphic sexuality and the deviant character of the racialized *pícaras* are not exploited.

La Lozana andaluza, *La pícara Justina*, and *La hija de Celestina* exhibit strong picaresque traits and have been considered part of the Early Modern female picaresque group of works by previous and current literary criticism. In these narratives, it is possible to observe the exotization of the *pícara*, a *pícara* who is both alluring and repulsive, a woman both desired and abhorred, a hybrid subject living in the margins of society who negotiates her identity willingly in order to survive, and who reflects all that the virtuous woman is not. The *pícara*'s racialization also allows for her placement within the world of prostitution because of society's assumption that an Orientalized woman would be more promiscuous than a Christian woman.[7] As previously mentioned, Early Modern Europe equals its identity to Christianity and utilizes the Orient in order to define itself, since the Orient is that which Europe is not. In the same manner, the *pícara* is constructed as a polarized representation of the ideal Christian woman. In the process, if woman is equated to nation, the *pícara* serves as a means of defining a white/Christian Spain through the Orientalized nature of the *pícara*. In the fantasy of the nation, the *pícara* is that which Spain is not.

[7] This concept will be fully developed in the subsequent chapters, especially Chapter I.

Before entering a study of the main primary texts, it is necessary to understand the cultural context of Medieval and Early-Modern Spain, specifically the relationships between the three main religious/ethnic groups that cohabitated the Iberian Peninsula at this time, Christians, Jews and Muslims. Chapter I will include a study of the maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies found in Spanish literature and general culture during these time periods. This chapter will comprise as well a study of the Orientalized other in Early Modern Spanish literature through the survey of two tendencies found in the writings of the period. Firstly, the representations of *moriscas* and *conversas* (and their male counterparts) will be examined in various works of Peninsular literature, starting with *Las Jarchas* in the Medieval period and then progressing through other works up to, and including, the Early Modern period. Secondly, this chapter will analyze the situation of the Christian woman within Early Modern society and how this ideal clashes with the hybrid *pícara*. This chapter will explore the reasons why the authors of these works may have felt inclined to represent a racialized feminine in the form of the *pícara*, rather than representing a nonracialized feminine in the form of a European/Christian woman.

Once this cultural context is established and the historical background of representations of the Orientalized other is understood, it is possible to begin an analysis of the primary texts, starting with *La Lozana andaluza* in Chapter II. The texts are organized chronologically precisely to better observe the degradation that the representation of the exotic woman suffers as intensified maurophobic feelings, stricter laws toward controlling forms of cultural expressions, and the last expulsions of ethnic minorities become a reality. This chapter will focus on Lozana's origins and hybridity,

her use of language and the utilization of her body and sexuality. I will show how Lozana manipulates the stereotypes of the exotic other in order to construct herself as an attractive and alluring subject in the eyes of Western Europe. Lozana not only takes advantage of her knowledge of the "magic of Levant" that she has learned in her travels, but she also uses her body and language to achieve her financial goals, to meet the needs of her sexuality, and to become a central and essential figure in the Jewish quarters where she lives. In *La Lozana andaluza*, the body becomes a means of achieving pecuniary gain, but it also becomes a "text" that carries the markers of Jewishness and prostitution that Lozana will not address directly. This chapter will make reference to Francisco Delicado's life, a Jewish convert himself whose parallels with Lozana are impossible to ignore. I will also address the significance of the fact that this *pícara* escapes unpunished, even though she is a subversive societal element, and thrives in the slums of Rome, becoming one of its most influential inhabitants.

A few decades after *La lozana andaluza* is published in Rome, *La pícara Justina* lands in the hands of Spanish readers for their entertainment and for helping men learn about the danger that the *pícara* represents. Chapter III will entail an analysis of Justina as *pícara* and the role that her hybrid heritage plays in her portrayal. This chapter will also present an analysis of Justina's use of language by both the male narrative voice and the female *pícara* voice, the use of her body and sexuality, and Justina's constant negotiation of identity. I will show how Justina's mixed heritage and racialization allows the *pícara* to subvert, deceive and survive in a society that is becoming more reticent to accept those who come from cultural minorities. In this chapter I will address Justina's use of language and how it becomes essential to read between the lines and to interpret

the text in order for the reader to decipher aspects of her autobiography that are hidden in between layers of meaning. However, just like the reader needs to search between the lines of the text, the reader also needs to read the different markers in Justina's body in order to separate the written word from Justina's actual situation. Because of the hermetic nature of Justina's prose, the reader faces a difficult text that constantly misleads and confuses meaning, reinforcing the idea that Justina, an ethnic minority, is not trustworthy and consequently extrapolating this perception to others who are also of a mixed heritage.

These negative perceptions of Spain's ethnic minorities are even more pronounced in the last work that comprises this project, *La hija de Celestina*. By the time Salas Barbadillo writes this novel, the final expulsion of the *moriscos* has already taken place. Chapter IV will take into account these historical and cultural circumstances in the analysis of Elena as *pícara* and the fact that her punishment is the harshest suffered by any of the three *pícaras* included in this project. In this chapter I will examine as well the effect that the use of third person narrative produces in the text as opposed to the narrative voices in the other two primary works analyzed in this project. Finally, I will also show how Elena utilizes her exotic beauty and her wit in order to manipulate others into believing what she wants them to believe, always with the prospect of pecuniary gain.

Throughout history, Europe has constructed its identity based on difference (Dainotto 19). Furthermore, for a time during the Middle-Ages, Europe equated its identity directly with Christianity. The Iberian Peninsula stands caught between two worlds, the east and the west, and shows the influences of three religious groups:

Christianity, Judaism and Islam. After 700 years of Muslim presence in the Peninsula, and many more of Judaic presence, it would be simplistic to assume that there was not a profound cross cultural contact between peoples. Once Spain emerges as an important power in Europe, it will do everything possible to rid itself of those ethnic minorities that challenge its Europeanness. The female picaresque novel offers a window into the stereotypical representations that the exotic other is subjected to in three different moments in time, moments that are key in Spain's construction of itself as a Christian nation. These three *pícaras* are a negative mirror image of the idea of a homogenous Spain. Doubly marginalized because of their gender and their ethnic background, the *pícara* will subvert, deceive, lie and do everything in her power to survive. Her racialized body becomes the source of her income, and although she bears the marks of otherness, she is able to manipulate through both language and appearance the perceptions that others may have of her. Although the reader might feel repulsion when faced with Lozana's deforming syphilitic lesions, Justina's comments on her loss of hair or Elena's ruthless nature, these *pícaras* demonstrate the wit and the charm necessary to do everything possible in order to survive in a world that has relegated them to the very outer margins of society.

CHAPTER I

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE "EXOTIC OTHER" IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN LITERATURE

According to legend, in the early 700s, the last Visigoth King of Spain, Rodrigo, hid behind some shrubbery and watched as Florinda La Cava and the Queen's handmaidens bathed in the waters of the river Tajo by the city of Toledo. Rodrigo became enamored of the beautiful girl, and soon after forced her to be his lover, leaving her pregnant. La Cava was the daughter of don Julian, Count of Ceuta, and had been sent to the court in Toledo to be one of the Queen's handmaidens while her father remained in Africa. Upon learning of the affront, don Julian made a secret pact with Muslim forces and allowed them to cross the Strait of Gibraltar into the Iberian Peninsula (Fogelquist 12). In a matter of months, the Iberian Peninsula was under Muslim dominion, and Rodrigo lay dead at Muslim hands in the waters of the Guadalete river, completing the circle to his undoing. This story, reminiscent of the biblical David and Beth-Sheba, is one of the many explanations constructed to explain the rapid conquest of the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula by the Muslims. Don Julian's revenge was fulfilled in the year 711 when Arabs from Damascus entered the peninsula and occupied almost all

of the Christian territory in both Portugal and Spain, successfully ending Visigoth rule (López-Baralt 3).[8]

The Christian Visigoths, however, were not the only inhabitants of the peninsula at this time. Among the Christians, the Muslims also encountered Jews, who had established themselves in Spain as early as the second century B.C., during the time of Carthage's supremacy in the Mediterranean (López-Baralt 26). During Arab occupation, these three cultures maintained contact through a porous, variable border between predominantly Christian and Arab territories. Because both Christians and Jews were "people of the Book," they were protected under the *dhimma*, a Muslim law that allowed them to practice their religion while living in Arab territory (Dodds, Menocal and Krasner Balbale 17). Arab influence in Christian territory (and vice versa) and evidence of a common ground were especially noticeable in various expressions of culture such as architecture, clothing, societal customs, literature, and foods, among others. Architecture, for instance was influenced by both cultures to the point that features such as the horseshoe arch may be believed to be of Arab influence when in reality its origin was Visigothic: "Today we often think of the horseshoe arch as a characteristic of Islamic architecture, but in early Medieval Spain it resonated with the Visigoths, nearly all of whose churches used the horseshoe arch […] to create an elegant partitioned space" (Dodds, Menocal and Krasner Balbale 84). Christian churches also utilized Arabic elements in their architecture such as the *Muqarnas* found in the church of San Andrés in

[8] In this chapter the term Spain will be used to refer to what today is known as Spain, having in mind that the nation-state Spain had not been created yet at the time of the Arab colonization of the Peninsula, and would not be founded until centuries later with the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469. The term Al-Andalus will be used to refer to the Arab territory in the Peninsula (territory that fluctuates and changes during the centuries of Muslim presence in the Peninsula).

Toledo (Dodds, Menocal and Krasner Balbale 139).[9] These cultural elements, rather than remaining distinct from each other and easily labeled as Christian or Muslim, become integrated within each other. This integration produces a mixed cultural expression that is difficult to separate into its "original" elements. As Jerrilynn Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale conclude, the identity of Iberian architecture "is evolving in a process far more layered and nuanced than a dance between two religions" (138). Architecture is only one of the many examples that show how the three cultures benefited from their contact with each other during the period referred to as *La convivencia*. Regardless of the tensions in the battlefield, there was a relatively peaceful cohabitation and respect among the three religious groups in various main Spanish cities for extended periods of time. However, the influence, contact and familiarity between Arab and Christian cultures also produced an awareness of the Muslim and the Jew as Other to the European concept of Christianity. This awareness resulted in perceptions about the Other's culture, some positive and others negative. Once these observations of difference were embedded in the Christian imaginary, after years of cultural contact and political conflict, they appeared in general societal behavior toward ethnic minorities. Furthermore, they made their way into cultural forms of expression, such as songs or literary production. These perceptions and/or stereotypes appear in Medieval and Early Modern literary production in both poems that stem from oral tradition such as *Las Jarchas* and *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*, and from written literature, such as *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*, *Las guerras civiles de Granada* and "Historia de Ozmín y Daraja." The oral tradition, passed from generation to generation and by word of

[9] *Muqarnas* are a sculptural expression that shows "the taste for intricate cerebral ornament driven by geometry and meditative complexity" (Dodds, Menocal and Krasner Balbale 139). These three-dimensional sculptures are utilized on walls and domes, creating a puzzling effect.

mouth, would be a reflection of popular or non-elite tendencies and their representations of ethnic minorities. The written word would be available to a more select group, although with the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century, literature became increasingly accessible to different social classes, not only the affluent.

In this chapter I demonstrate how the literary representations of the Moor, the *morisco*, and the *converso* in Medieval and Early Modern works include perceptions and misconceptions about the exotic other, both positive and negative. The term exotic other will refer to those members of Spanish society that are of either Jewish or Muslim origin. The exotic other is perceived as different from mainstream society, even deviant, yet alluring and attractive. The view of the exotic other as different also highlights the preoccupation of the Spanish state with creating a division between "them" and "us." As it will be shown, the goal of presenting Spain as a European nation in the eyes of Early Modern Europe was rendered problematic by the presence of exotic elements within Spanish culture. This perception of the exotic other was ambivalent because "Spanish interaction with things Moorish was actually too proximate or intimate to fall under this mode of objectifying, distant fascination" (Fuchs *Exotic Nation* 7). Because of this closeness, the exotic other is viewed as alluring, but it is also rejected.

These ambivalent notions about the exotic other elucidate the cultural context within which literary works were produced and consumed. I will concentrate on works that include representations of the exotic other in a protagonist role. By utilizing the lens of gender, I focus on the representation of the Orientalized woman or *morisca* / *conversa* and show how these representations, influenced by the Christian imaginary, permeate the construction of the *pícara* in the female picaresque tradition. Traits and perceptions of

the orientalized woman that have traditionally appeared in Spanish literary production will be developed and exploited in the female picaresque tradition, specifically in those *pícaras* who are racialized. As indicated in the introduction, the female picaresque tradition shares similarities with the canonical (masculine) picaresque, but the *pícara* cannot be deemed a female *pícaro* per se due to her manipulation of racial identity and the utilization of her body in order to gain pecuniary gain. Because the *pícaras* studied in this project are racialized and Orientalized, they are able to negotiate their identities: they can perform as Christian women, as *moriscas* or as *conversas*, according to their needs of the moment. The awareness of their own hybrid origin gives them a fluidity that allows them to cross between ethnic and religious groups. The *pícara* is able to mimic those traits that allow her to fit within a certain community or to fulfill certain expectations. The *pícara* may be perceived as object due to her gender and being under the control of the masculine voice of the narrator. However, she also demonstrates qualities that establish her as subject, especially in her talent for subverting social mores and norms, even if this deviation comes with consequences. As Edward H. Friedman explains:

> Male authors bring women into the domain of the picaresque without giving them freedom of speech and without liberating them from the constraints of their social inferiority. The female rogues achieve a degree of success by plotting against men, but society at large, if not the individual, avenges their deviation with behavioral norms […] Like their male counterparts, the female protagonists achieve an identity in spite of the factors that work against them, and some manage to escape the silence that threatens their discursive authority. (71-72)

By escaping the silence that Friedman refers to, the *pícara* establishes her identity and projects herself as a speaking subject. This dichotomy of object/subject exemplifies the *pícara*'s nature, which is always dual and ambivalent. The *pícara* constantly deceives those who come in contact with her, including her reader. She may be apparently

identified as an object, but she exhibits traits that make her a speaking subject who manipulates those who come in contact with her both with her words and appearance.

In his book *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha problematizes questions of identity, specifically the identity of the marginalized (immigrants, minorities, women, the colonized) within a hegemonic system. In Chapter 8, "DissemiNation," Bhabha looks for the space where the voice of those who are marginalized can be found. In order to do this, he construes time as a double concept. He shows how the nation relies on a "double narrative movement" in order to define itself (208). This double movement is formed by a pedagogical narrative and a performative narrative. The pedagogical narrative reinforces the idea of a common historical past: "the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin *in the past*" (208). The complexity of the people as members of a nation is not solely based on the pedagogical narrative, but also on the performative narrative. The performative narrative references that which is part of quotidian life: "The scraps, patches and rags of daily life" (209). That is, those actions that the individual repeats time after time on a regular basis creating the "essence" of the nation's character. It is in this hybrid space between the pedagogical and the performative expression that identity emerges. This is why Bhabha advocates for a new reading of the nation that is not only based on historical facts, but also on cultural expressions. Through the pedagogical narrative, the subjects of a nation learn how to act. Through the performative, they repeat those traits that are part of living within that specific culture. The tension of this "double-time" produces the space where identity can emerge. The *pícaras* studied in this project are precisely caught between the pedagogical narrative and

the performative narrative: the monolithic history that Christian Spain strives to impose on the Peninsula (the illusion of a Christian nation free of blood mixing), and the everyday culture that contains traits of those voices belonging to Spain's ethnic minorities.[10] The *pícara* finds its place in this liminal place of hybridity. This liminal space permits the *pícara* to negotiate her identity according to her needs of the moment: she is portrayed as an Orientalized woman, which allows her to become Christian if necessary, or Jewish, or Moorish. It all depends on who she is trying to deceive or what her goals of the moment are.

The development of this illusion of Spain as a homogenous European nation can be observed, for instance, through the story of Florinda la Cava. As with many legends that have been passed from generation to generation through the oral tradition, the story undergoes significant changes. These changes reflect the progression of the exotic other's perception in the Christian imaginary. In the early versions of the story, Florinda is an innocent maiden raped by King Rodrigo. However, by the sixteenth century, other versions appear portraying Florinda as a seductress who brings about the "subjugation" of Spain to the Muslims (Fogelquist 21-22). La Cava is even construed as an Eve who causes the fall of Christian Spain:

> The Hebrew for Eve is Chava, and it seems crystal clear that writers – Christian, Muslim and Jewish – have long connected her to Eve […] In the history of Christian Spain, the ruler's sexual sins cause a downward spiral into events of

[10] During the Middle-Ages, the concept of Europe is equated with Christianity. Roberto Dainotto observes that it is during the thirteenth century that the concept of Europe "begins to disengage itself from Christianity" (30). During the fifteenth century, however, there needed to be some type of differentiation between "us" (Europeans) and "them" (Muslims and Turks). Christianity was part of this differentiation: "a linguistic shift from Christianity to Europe had to occur once Christianity had lost any cementing power. It is not that, to be sure, Christianity disappeared altogether; simply, some of its moral and political signification was being transferred, relocated, and translated into the idea of Europe" (Dainotto 33). Europe defined itself having Christianity as a basis, and utilizing the Orient as its opposite. Spain's blood mixing and Orientalized culture threatens Spain's position as European nation.

> political and spiritual decline, resulting in the perdition of the Christian nation, of both the land and its inhabitants. (Grieve 35)

Just like Eve produces the downfall of men, La Cava is to blame for "the fall" of Spain. Florinda is the daughter of a Christian Count, but born and raised in Africa. She carries within her a difference from other Christian Spanish women. Spain, in order to present itself as a nation free of Orientalizing elements, needs to shun the influence of ethnic minorities in its culture, or at least, degrade their presence and construct them as negative. Although Florinda is, among the maidens of the Queen, the most virtuous and beautiful, her downfall is her attire: "She allows both her face and her foot to be seen: her face is not veiled (*sin anfaz*) and her dress is too short to hide the sight of her foot" (Folgequist 22). The evolution of Florinda from victim of rape to being portrayed as a femme fatale showcases this negative portrayal of the exotic other (or at least a negative portrayal of those who may be construed as different). It also highlights the weakness of women and their role as seductresses. The racialized *pícara* falls under both these categories.

In this chapter I also show how the construction of the racialized *pícara* seems to contravene the ideal of the virtuous Christian woman or *cristiana*, producing a direct opposition between the two. *Tratados de conducta*, prevalent during the Early Modern period, clarify the expectations of women during this time. However, there were also deviant representations of Christian women in literary production, specifically in Early Modern drama. Because both theater and the picaresque novel are genres directly tied to mainstream entertainment, they allow for a comparison and exploration of the differences between the representations of racialized *pícaras* and transgressing *cristianas*. Through this comparison I will show how the masculine voice presents the female body and

character in a different light when the protagonist is Orientalized, as opposed to a deviant *cristiana*.

There are two perspectives in the representations of the exotic other in Medieval and Early Modern literary production. These perspectives can be classified as either maurophilic or maurophobic, but there exist also representations of the exotic other that are simply caught in between both tendencies. Due to the many years of *La convivencia* among the three main religious groups, the feelings towards the exotic other can be best described as ambivalent. It is impossible to speak of a white and black division between maurophilia and maurophobia because there are varying shades of grey in between. It would be expected that during the relatively peaceful times of the *La convivencia*, representations of the other would be mostly positive, while during the times of the expulsions of both Jews and *moriscos*, the representations would be negative. In many instances, this is the case; however, when literary production is examined, it is possible to observe both positive and negative representations coexisting during the same time frame. Even those voices that defend the presence of ethnic minorities in Spain during the early years of the seventeenth century, such as Pérez de Hita or Miguel de Luna, fail to maintain a maurophilic perspective, writing in some cases a "literatura desesperada que habla a dos voces y que se contradice una y otra vez" (López-Baralt 153). It is a desperate, contradictory literature because it stems from the experience of those who are caught between feeling an affinity toward the exotic other, but also wishing to become a part of the homogenous nation that Spain is striving to build. The revision of these ambivalent feelings, sometimes contradictory, latent in the Christian imaginary during the centuries of Arab presence in the Iberian Peninsula and beyond their expulsion becomes

necessary in order to better comprehend the representations of the exotic other in Early Modern literary production.

Iberian Early Modern cultural and literary production has been revisited in the latter years and new approaches to the dynamics of power in Early Modern Iberian society and its marginal cultures have emerged in the academic field. These studies that concentrate on marginalized communities include areas of interest such as *La convivencia*, gender, and cross-cultural relations across the border between the Christian and Muslim worlds. These investigations and approaches become necessary at the time of creating a base for understanding how cultural contact between peoples would affect the perceptions of the exotic other in the Christian imaginary during the years of shared territory and communal spaces. Barbara Fuchs has recently studied the cultural intermixing that occurred in Spain during the Early Modern period. In her book *Exotic Nation*, she outlines the obvious and the veiled influences of Moorish culture in Early Modern Spain and the differing reactions toward these influences by a people who were striving to establish themselves as a firm Christian nation, while rationalizing their Arab legacy. Fuchs articulates these conflicting approaches basing her study in the term coined by Georges Cirot, maurophilia, or love of the Moor. However, where Cirot applied this term solely to literary production, Fuchs argues that "the canon of maurophilia invokes the lived practices, the costume, and the architecture in which the hybridity of Spain emerges more fully" (*Exotic Nation* 5). Fuchs contextualizes the literary text within the cultural practices in the Iberian Peninsula at the time and uses maurophilia as a concept applicable beyond literary production. Maurophobia, or fear of the Moor (a fear articulated in many occasions through hate), is the counterpoint to

maurophilia. Maurophobia demonizes the other, while belittling and accusing of sodomy those who show attraction, love or respect for the Moor or things that are clearly Moorish. According to Fuchs, maurophobia also may be explained by Spain's efforts to exorcise any orientalist tendencies that might make it seem different in the eyes of Europe, especially Northern Europe (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 20). I will use Fuchs' understanding of maurophilia and maurophobia in order to analyze the presence of these two tendencies in literary works of both the Medieval and the Early Modern period, and their influence in the representations of the exotic other, and consequently, the Orientalized woman. As in the case of Florinda La Cava, who is at first characterized as a victim and as time passes as seductress, representations of Orientalized women in literature also fall within these same paradigms. The Orientalized woman is either innocent and naïve or a temptress. She either awakens feelings of sympathy in the reader or of loathing. Because the *pícara* is construed as an Orientalized woman and she exists within a society that is still coming to terms with its own mixed heritage, sometimes accepting it, other times rebuking it, maurophilia and maurophobia become valuable tools in order to better understand the *pícara*'s characterization and depiction and her intended effect on the reader. I will contextualize the representation of the *pícara* within these maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies and will show how these tendencies affect the *pícara*'s representation.

La convivencia: Maurophilia and Maurophobia

The contact between cultures in the Iberian Peninsula during the Medieval period brought not only intellectual exchange, but also a physical exchange, or, as Fuchs calls it,

a "forced intimacy" (*Exotic Nation* 13). As the *Reconquista* pushed the Christian-Muslim border further South, Christian immigrants relocated to territories previously occupied by the Arabs and lived in Arab homesteads, utilizing their everyday utensils, their houses, even imitating some of their clothing styles, such as the *toca*, or head-wrap utilized by Christian peasants, or the veils worn by Christian women when going out in public (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 13-14). Housing still bears heavy Arab influence in Southern Spain, where many dwellings are constructed around an interior patio, and Arab inspired tiles are used to adorn walls and floors. The introduction of the *estrado* (a low platform covered in pillows, tapestries and luxurious materials for the usage of women) in Christian households is another example of Arab influence in everyday life. Gastronomy is also influenced by cultural contact, such as the usage of almonds and honey in sweets, or the use of spices (saffron, cumin) in cooking. *La convivencia*, as Fuchs remarks, refers precisely to this daily usage of objects and the dissimilar values placed upon these very items. For instance, the Christian recognizes some objects as special because of their Arab origin: silks from Al-Andalus are appreciated and coveted for their beauty and craftsmanship, their usage becoming a marker of high status, while being openly recognized as items of Muslim origin (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 13). However, other simple items (such as foods, kitchen utensils, or games) that are used as part of daily life are not recognized as "borrowed" items from a different culture.[11] These quotidian items are construed, in the end, as "Spanish," producing an exotic vision of Spain that is veiled to Spaniards, but apparent to those who observe from outside the

[11] In her book *Exotic Nation*, Fuchs explores the influences of Arab culture in Christian quotidian life when compared to the rest of Europe. Fuchs explains how those customs that Spaniards would consider *theirs* were in reality a result of the existent cultural exchange, hence being perceived as *different* by European visitors.

Spanish borders. This perception of difference from outside of the Spanish borders interprets Spain as an exotic nation, different from the rest of Europe, but at the same time alluring and to a certain extent, commodified.

The reactions that foreign dignitaries have upon entering in contact with Spanish culture can be found in formal documents and literary examples. One such example of the difference of Spain in the eyes of visitors from other European countries is contained in the description that Antonio de Lalaing, chamberlain of the Habsburg's, makes of the Spanish Court upon the arrival of Felipe el Hermoso to Toledo. Antonio de Lalaing accompanies the son-in-law of Isabella and Ferdinand in his first visit to the Castilian city in 1501. Upon arrival, they are treated to a mock "escaramuza," a reenactment of a battle between Moors and Christians.[12] Lalaing's observations bring to light the ease with which Spanish Christians imitate the customs of their former Arab neighbors:

> iban vestidos a la morisca, muy lujosamente. Llevaban albornoces de terciopelo carmesí y de terciopelo azul, todos bordados a la morisca. La parte baja de sus mangas era de seda carmesí, y además de eso grandes cimitarras, y también capas rojas, y sobre sus cabezas llevaban turbantes […] con cerca de cuatrocientos jinetes, todos vestidos a la morisca, salieron de su emboscada con banderas desplegadas, y vinieron a hacer la escaramuza adonde estaban el Rey y el Archiduque, lanzando sus lanzas a la moda de Castilla. (López Estrada 203)

This description presents aspects of transcultural contact along with tendencies of maurophilia and maurophobia. The Christian knights dress as Moors and their knowledge of Arab customs and apparel becomes obvious when taking into consideration the detailed description of rich fabrics, elaborate embroidery and fine weaponry. In this

[12] This reenactment could be construed as a precursor of today's cultural spectacles customized for the foreigner such as flamenco dancing shows in Spain geared toward tourists, or tango dancing shows in Argentina for the same purpose. It is a way of commodifying and selling the nation by performing those aspects of culture that are most exotic and different to a foreigner and present it as an expression of national identity. This, of course, opens other paths of discussion, since Spain is presenting itself in the eyes of the foreigner not only as Christian, but also as knowledgeable of Moorish customs.

case, the Christian dresses as a Moor in order to perform a mock battle against Christians dressed as Christians.[13] While nothing is said about Christian apparel, the Moorish side is described in terms of colors and richness of textures, having an objectifying effect when reading the passage. Maurophilia is apparent in the admiration for the clothing implied in between the lines, but maurophobia is also a part of this passage since "Moors" and Christians engage in a battle that represents how "hacen los moros escaramuzas contra los cristianos" (López Estrada 203). The narrator very clearly specifies that the Moors are the ones who ambush and attack the Christians first, implying a negative quality in them. There is also the underlying marker of difference: in the eyes of the outsider, the Spaniard is able to dress, mount and fight like the Moor, imitating the other perfectly, or at least as far as the knowledge of the foreign observer goes. The Spaniard imitating the Moor takes advantage of his knowledge of Moorish culture, but also plays with the stereotypes: the Moor dresses in sumptuous fashion, and the Spaniard imitating the Moor gives this to the foreign observer. Antonio de Lalaing witnesses this *escaramuza* as an outsider, and perceives it as "exotic," due to the presence of Oriental elements, such as clothing and battle strategy, while the Spaniards are unaware of the effect that their performance is having on their foreign observer. Although Lalaign is aware that the Spaniards are performing, he mentions various times in the short description the fact that the Spaniards are dressed "a la morisca" (203). He concentrates on a detailed description of Arab clothing, rather than on the action itself.

[13] These *escaramuzas* still take place in parts of Eastern Spain in the festivities known as *Moros i Cristians*. In these festivities, some dress as Moors, some as Christians and then perform *escaramuzas* in which the Christian side always prevails over the Moor. The parallelism of these festivities with the excerpt by Lalaing is uncanny: it is a well-known fact among participants and observers that the most detailed and impressive apparel belongs to the Moorish side or *filaes*. The same objectification of the Moor that Lalaing does in this passage occurs during the festivities of *Moros i Cristians*, in which the audience objectifies the Moor.

He does not describe the soldiers that dress as Christian soldiers. This emphasis on the different type of clothing that the Spaniards wear and its implied recognition of visual difference, could very easily be translated into a conclusion that Spaniards imitate the other well because they themselves are exposed to the other's culture and consequently are "contaminated."

About the cultural contact that takes place in the Peninsula while all three cultures share the same physical space, called *La convivencia*, Luce López-Baralt remarks that "suponer que los cristianos españoles no tomaron nada de prestado de sus cultísimos compatriotas árabes y judíos es juzgarlos como provincianos y faltos de toda curiosidad intelectual" (2). López-Baralt's words confirm the obvious: contact between peoples will inevitably produce a cultural exchange, and introduce customs and habits that will become an intrinsic part of each other's culture. However, it has been only in relatively recent critical studies, starting with Américo Castro's *La realidad histórica de España* (1954), that the influence of Arab and Jewish cultures on the Iberian Peninsula are starting to be thoroughly explored.[14] In their book *The Arts of Intimacy*, Dodds, Menocal and Krasner Balbale propose a different approach to *La convivencia*. Instead of speaking of influence between cultures, they present the idea of the cultural contact during *La convivencia* as a kaleidoscope striving to present itself as stable when in reality it is always in movement (6). As they elucidate: "We are accustomed to think of the arts, of language and literature, as being irrevocably attached to the religious and political context in which they were created. So that, from the beginning, linguistic or artistic

[14] Américo Castro's proposal that Spanish culture had been permeated by Muslim and Semitic elements was supported by some and rejected by most. López-Baralt, however, recognizes its initial value and shrewdly points out the fact that a country of hybrid origins such as Spain has not produced "grandes orientalistas hasta el siglo XX" (33).

forms that go on to cross political or religious borders seem anomalous" (5). The cultural contact between the three main ethnic groups in the Iberian Peninsula is more complex, deep and unstable than simple influence between cultures.

This complex cultural contact is also bound to generate judgments and perceptions about the other culture. The two tendencies of maurophilia and maurophobia, positive and negative, permeated the imaginary of the Christian community, finding a form of manifestation in literary expression. The historical shifts of physical territorial power may have influenced these attitudes of acceptance and/or rejection. López-Baralt explains that in the beginning of *La convivencia*, the influence and financial prowess of the three groups (Christian, Jew, Muslim) was mostly equal, resulting in acceptance and respect among them (31). Perhaps one of the most well-known results of this acceptance is the School of Translation in Toledo, where the three cultures worked together translating texts into Hebrew, Latin and Arabic and in the process exchanging knowledge. This resulted in Spain becoming a bridge of knowledge exchange between Europe and the Orient. However, once the Christian forces gained control of Muslim territory and became the Iberian Peninsula's dominating power after the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), discrimination and xenophobia toward Jews and Muslims became more rampant and accepted (López-Baralt 32). Distrust of the Iberian Peninsula's ethnic minorities reached its peak with the orders of expulsion for the Jews in 1492 and for the *moriscos* in 1609.

Given the circumstances surrounding *La convivencia*, a more positive representation of the Moor would be expected during the years of relatively peaceful cohabitation between the three cultures in Spain, when Christian and Muslim power were

equalized, and even in later years as a reminiscence of a romanticized past.[15] The same holds true of negative representations. It is possible to find popular texts of maurophobic undertones in the Iberian Peninsula that date back to the time of *La convivencia*, such as *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*. However, as time goes by and Jews and Muslims suffer persecutions in the Iberian Peninsula, there is a distinct change in attitudes toward the exotic other. These representations become more strongly tinted in negative tones once Christians start to campaign against the Muslim forces and gain power, and serious efforts for a cultural cleansing through the conversion of members of the other two religions are reinforced and supported by the state. These negative representations affect as well the portrayal of *conversos* and *moriscos* in Iberian literary production, and become more pronounced after their expulsions. These representations feed on common stereotypes such as construing the Jews as traitors or concerned with pecuniary gain, or portraying Muslim men as liars and Muslim women as sexually promiscuous. There is also a demonization in that Semitism and Islam are directly linked with dark magic, which would explain the proliferation of witches of mixed blood that exist in literary production, such as Celestina.

We can also find in Iberian literary production positive representations of the Moor. David Darst maintains that "there existed in the early sixteenth century a literary view of Moors that was humanistic and egalitarian" (71-72). This egalitarian view of the Moor is developed in the motif called the "Sentimental Moor," in which the challenges of love between the idealized Moor and his lady are the focus of the literary work (Darst 72). It is also possible to find the "Sentimental Moor" in literary production that contains

[15] Critics such as López-Baralt or María Rosa Menocal point at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 as the moment when this balance tips in favor of the Castilian forces.

chivalric aspects, such as *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*. In this short tale, besides the challenges of love that the couple faces, the insertion of the Christian lord, the bravery of the Muslim knight, and the homosocial relation between Moor and Christian brings a new dimension to the representation of the "Sentimental Moor." It is a tale where friendship and mutual respect between Christian and Moor are highlighted. However, even though it is viewed as an expression of maurophilia, this motif could be also be construed as a means of emasculating the Muslim man, who is portrayed as weakened due to an emotional state (in love), and not fit for battle, even "a figure of political, religious, and personal submission, a convenient other to the superior Christian" (Hernández-Pecoraro 430). This portrayal of the Sentimental Moor shows that, even though the text may seem maurophilic, there are maurophobic tendencies within it that elucidate the tensions and preoccupations with the conversion of Muslims and their assimilation into Spanish culture.

The outlets through which maurophilia emerges are numerous, literature being just one of the many: foods, architectural design, *juegos de cañas*, garb, and even social behavior are some of the traits adopted, accepted and embraced from Al-Andalus into Christian culture. However, after 1492, as Spain becomes a more prominent power in Europe, it strives to institute itself as separate from Al-Andalus and it establishes the construction of a homogenous Spanish nation based on a "genealogically verifiable Gothic identity […], the increased persecution of the Moriscos, and the construction of a national myth that cast Spain as heir of imperial Rome and defender of the Church" (Fuchs, *Passing* 10).[16] King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella played an important role in

[16] This Gothic identity references the illusion of a Christian past upon which the Spanish state bases its reasonings to expel the Moor from the Peninsula: "NeoGothicism is a myth of national origins and identity

establishing Spain as a defender of the Christian faith. While crusades against the "infidel," launched as early as the eleventh century, had taken place in the Middle-East, Spain was fighting its own crusade on European soil. The papacy provided Ferdinand and Isabella with financial resources to continue on and finish the *Reconquista*: "three-quarters of the crown's costs in the war were covered by Church taxes conceded by the papacy" (Kamen 16). The support of the papacy became crucial in Ferdinand and Isabella's final victory in 1492 with the taking of Granada, and it exacerbated the idea of Spain fighting a "holy war" against non-Christians: "From 1488 many of the Spanish soldiers wore crusader crosses on their uniform, and a huge silver cross (sent to Ferdinand by the pope) was carried before the troops" (Kamen 17). The imbalance of power between religious affiliations in the Iberian Peninsula became more prominent after 1212, and it probably provoked an exponential increase in negative representations of the Moor, the convert, and the Jew in literary expression. These negative representations, however, become more obvious once the expulsions come into effect, beginning in 1492 with the expulsion of the Jews and those Moors who did not convert to Christianity. The idea of Spain as a defender of Christianity, supported by Ferdinand, Isabella and the papacy, would only increase the force of these negative representations.

Fuchs explains how maurophilia could become a means of channeling maurophobia. She gives the example of Isabel of Castile's campaign against her half-brother Enrique IV. In order to undermine the King's efforts to pass the throne to his daughter Juana, Isabel's campaign presented the King as a "lover" of everything Moorish, hinting at accusations of sodomy. Maurophilia in Enrique IV's portrayal was

---

that defines a Spaniard as a Christian whose roots extend back to the eighth century, specifically to those western Goths who survived the invasion of Muslims in 711" (Grieve 24)

constructed as a negative movement that "corrupted" true Christian culture, in this case, corrupting even the representative of the crown, the King himself (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 17-18). The overt expression of maurophilia brings about accusations not only toward the Moor, but also toward the Christian that expresses a love for things Moorish. These accusations imply that the Christian that shows maurophilic sentiment acquires the very characteristics of the exotic other, in most cases making reference only to the negative aspects, such as accusations of sodomy.

If maurophilia can bring about maurophobia, could it be expected that maurophobia could bring about a positive representation of the exotic other? It seems that both tendencies are interdependent. For instance, Spain made the decision to present itself as a fully European power and to conceal its assimilation of ethnic minorities. In 1567 there was a new law passed by the court of Felipe II known as "La Real Pragmática de 1567" that: "quitó a los moriscos su estilo de vida, prohibiéndoles, entre otras cosas, hablar, leer y escribir en árabe, vestir y celebrar fiestas a lo árabe, usar nombres árabes, e inclusive bañarse en baños artificiales" (Case 14). Because the Spanish state desired an image of Spain free of Orientalized qualities, any expression of Arab or Semitic culture was silenced. This is an obvious case of maurophobia, as Muslims were forced to either assimilate into Castilian mainstream culture or to go into exile. Even *moriscos* were forced to reject cultural markers such as clothing and customs. However, not all wished for the expulsion of the *moriscos* and there were great efforts made to keep them in the Peninsula, in part because of the economic stress that their departure would and did produce. For instance, *moriscos* worked farm lands, and their expulsions and relocations meant that these lands would be unattended, unless Christians were willing to move into

these lands and tend them. Nobles who depended on *moriscos* to work their lands appealed to Felipe II to let some of them stay and continue their work (Perry, *Maiden* 133). The strain resulting because of the imminent expulsion of the *moriscos* produced desperate displays to maintain them in Spain. Among these displays are *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte*, a collection of books written on leaden plates found in Granada in 1588. These books written in an early form of Arabic and Latin, concentrate on the commonalities of Islam and Christianity rather than the disparities, and establish the Muslims as the first true Christians that inhabit the Iberian Peninsula. These books also "presented an Islamic version of the Trinity" (Perry, *Maiden* 142). The supposed author of this fifth gospel was the Virgin Mary. The books were proven forged, but they are a testimony of the efforts to avoid the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain (Case 13). It is believed that Miguel de Luna, a *morisco* who worked in the Spanish court, helped in their creation. As López- Baralt explains, Miguel de Luna is ambivalent about where his loyalties lie: "No sería fácil ser un criptomusulmán a sueldo de las autoridades cristianas" (153). Although Luna is a *morisco* himself, his work at the court defines him as an assimilated *morisco,* who perhaps put himself in danger by participating in the forging of these books. What is unquestionable is that the "finding" of these books brought hope to *moriscos* in establishing a commonality between Christianity and Islam. As a matter of fact, the people of Granada "celebrated the discoveries with torches, trumpets, flutes, and special fires" (Perry, *Maiden* 142). These efforts to reach a religious understanding between Christians and Moors are a clear case of maurophilic expression brought about by maurophobia.

Maurophilia and maurophobia coexist and could even be defined as a reaction to each other's presence, but there is a noticeable change in attitudes once Christianity takes over the Iberian Peninsula. This budding change in the perceptions of the Moor and oriental cultures has its repercussions in the literary sphere:

> Gone are the symmetry, balance and harmony of equal parties vying with each other to practice the best good deed imaginable […] Now the Christian remains honest and generous and virtuous, but the Moor created by the Catholic mind becomes a stingy, petulant weakling who deserves the disrespect and persecution he has received over the centuries. (Darst 77-78)

Darst utilizes the example of the early fourteenth and sixteenth century versions of *El Abencerraje* and contrasts their portrayal of the Moor to Lope de Vega's version of the same story, *El remedio en la desdicha* written in the seventeenth century. The change from the early noble and valiant Moor to the latter despicable and cowardly infidel is a polarizing transition. Darst points to the Counter Reform as one of the main reasons for this major shift in literary representations of the Moor, the *morisco*, and the *converso*. Once the expulsion of the Jews, and later the expulsion of the *moriscos* take place, there is a more noticeable inclination in literary production to portray the Moor as untrustworthy, as a liar, and even as a demonic presence, as Lope de Vega's portrayal demonstrates. The development of these representations affects the Christian imaginary, a form of background consciousness where history, culture, values and definitions of identity has an effect on, in this case, Spanish society, slowly forming a stereotype of the exotic other and consequently, of the Orientalized woman that will permeate literary production.

The Moor, the *Morisco* and the *Converso* in the Literary Text

It is possible to find various representations of Spain's cultural minorities in Early Modern literature, representations that attest to both maurophilia and maurophobia, and even a mixture of the two. These representations begin as early as the tenth century in the form of *Jarchas*. Even though *Jarchas* are part of the Middle-Eastern tradition and are written by Hebrew and Muslim authors, they are composed in an early form of Romance language. *Jarchas* are a couple of short verses that appear at the end of the longer poem *moaxaja*, which is written either in Arabic or Hebrew (Solá-Solé 12). [17] Although these final verses are written in Romance, the poet uses either Arabic or Hebrew characters to express them, presenting them as a hybrid construct that echoes the situation of the Iberian Peninsula at the time. The *Jarchas*, brought to light by S.M. Stern in 1946, are a problematic genre: "La combinación de elementos lingüísticos diversos dentro de un romance hispánico primitivo casi desconocido y escrito, por añadidura, en caracteres árabes o hebreos […] dificultaba considerablemente su llana lectura e interpretación" (Solá-Solé 10).[18] The *Jarchas* are a product of a bilingual and multicultural society (García Gómez 35-36). While some *Jarchas* contain only one or two words in Arabic, there are various gradations of usage of Arabic versus usage of Romance. Some *Jarchas* use Romance and Arabic at a rate of fifty-fifty, while there are other *Jarchas* that are written entirely in Arabic (García Gómez 36-37). [19] The *Jarchas*

[17] Emilio García Gómez maintains that the *Jarcha* is composed prior to the *moaxaja*. The *moaxaja* is written to incorporate the *Jarcha* ().

[18] According to Josep Solá-Solé, S.M. Stern was not the first critic to notice the presence of *Jarchas* at the end of Moaxajas. Previous philological studies, such as the ones by J.M. Millás or Menéndez Pelayo, had already referenced these early verses in Romance, and had expressed puzzlement at their very existence (Solá-Solé 8).

[19] The critic Emilio García Gómez maintains that there are also *Jarchas* written completely in colloquial Arabic as well as classical Arabic in the Andalusian region of Spain and in the Levant. Thematically,

reflect both cultures not only in form, but also in content, since there is a mixture between characteristic themes of Arabic classic literature and distinctive topics of the Occident. As Josep Solá-Solé elucidates, the *Jarchas* are "a caballo entre el recato de las canciones de la Antigua lírica hispánica y cierto impudor, propio de la lírica musulmana" (10). In the interpellations that call directly to the lover, the female speaker uses Arabic, calling him "al-habib" or "sidi" as opposed to the usage of Romance when referring directly to the female listener, the mother, "matre" or sisters, "yermanellas":

> Garid bos, ay yermanellas,
> ¿kom kontenere meu male?
> Sin al-habib non bibreyo
> ed bolarey demandare.
>
> Tell me, O my little sisters,
> how can I bear my pain?
> I can't live without my lover;
> I shall fly away to find him!

As can be seen in these verses, the female voice refers to the lover in Arabic, while using Romance to tell her story and address her female listeners. The fact that the female voice uses Arabic to address her lover, but old Spanish to address her friends, indicates the double nature of this form of literary production, and it highlights the literary traditions that the two languages represent. As Solá-Solé explains, the Arab would be associated with the more sensual traditions of Muslim poetic production, while old Spanish follows the more traditional content of Western poetry. The sensuality associated with the use of Arabic follows on the cultural traditions of its poetic production; however, the Christian listener perceives it as perhaps overtly sensual and exotic because he/she perceives and recognizes that cultural difference between both traditions.

---

however, they share very similar traits, and he believes that the *Jarchas* written in the Levant are an imitation of Andalusian *Jarchas*. This raises questions as to the classification of the *Jarchas* (39).

For this project, the study of *Jarchas* is important not only because of their hybrid nature, but also because of the Orientalized thematic and representation of the exotic woman. The great majority of *Jarchas* represent the voice of a woman (Solá-Solé 20), giving us a glimpse of the characteristics associated with the Orientalized woman, which contrast with the representations or expectations of the Christian woman. As with most works during the Medieval and Early Modern periods, the voice of the woman is an apparent feminine voice. These verses are for the most part authored by a male poet.[20] It is through the filter of the male author that the voice of the woman is known to the reader, in the same way that later on the *pícaras* will communicate their stories to their audience. This masculine filter allows a glimpse into how women were perceived, or at least, were predicted to behave when placed under certain circumstances. In the case of the *Jarchas*, the young woman is placed in a romantic setting where she suffers the absence of her lover. Solá-Solé clarifies that in the *Jarchas*, it is possible to find a "cierto matiz picante e incluso en algunas ocasiones cierto impudor" (20). The voice of the woman in the *Jarchas* expresses feelings of love and passion for her lover, and in most cases, she speaks directly to her friends and/or mother of her feelings towards her lover. If the *Jarchas* can be considered proof of a cultural contact between the Orient (including both Hebrew and Arab traditions) and the Occident, specifically in the physical context of the Iberian Peninsula, could it be assumed that the thematic found a place into the Iberian/Christian imaginary? The *Jarchas* represent the Arab woman as more straightforward and passionate than the idealized Christian woman. This image will

[20] In Josep M. Solá-Solé's study of the *Jarchas*, *Las jarchas romances y sus moaxajas*, all of the Arab and Hebrew poets mentioned by name are male. I haven't encountered any references in any of the books included in the selected bibliography about female poets who wrote *Jarchas*.

persevere in the Christian imaginary and will have a consequence later on in cultural production.

Besides the *Jarchas*, there are other lyric traditions in the Iberian Peninsula at the same time that also give us a representation of female subjectivity. Frenk Alatorre explains how in Portuguese popular poetry, the voice of the woman belongs to "una doncella, además, es una doncella casta, enamorada platónicamente" (79). The Portuguese tradition and the *Jarchas* tradition represent this female voice.[21] The difference is that while in the Portuguese tradition the young woman is portrayed as chaste and suffering of platonic love, in the *Jarchas* love is suffered, experienced and evoked with passion and desire.

One of the main themes of the *Jarchas* is the absence of the beloved, and the pain and anguish that this absence produces. Love is like a disease and the presence of the lover as the only medicine that can cure it:

> Oh madre, si no cesa la locura (de amor),
> enseguida moriré.
> Traed mi vino de (casa de) el hagib […],
> acaso sanaré. (Solá-Solé 70)

In these verses it is possible to sense the desperation in the young woman's voice as she pines for the presence of her lover. Her confidante in this case is her mother, and the young woman compares love to madness. The only remedy for it is the wine that only her lover can give her. The complication in this situation is the absence of her lover. Similar ideas are observed in verses such as:

> ¡Oh corazón mío, que quieres amar bien!
> Mi corderito

[21] Frenk Alatorre explains that women in the Middle Ages were "las principales 'consumidoras' de canciones y bailes" (79). It is also hypothesized that women were the authors of this early form of popular poetry, prior to the 1100's (80).

se va y tú no le dejas de amar. (Solá-Solé 81)

There is once again desperation produced by the absence of the lover and the idea of love as an obsession or addiction that cannot be overcome. The absence of the lover becomes an agonizing burden.

Perhaps the most important thematic aspect of the *Jarchas* is the sensual nature of the woman. The female voice pines for her lover and expresses the desire to be alone with him, to kiss him and to love him

Mi señor Ibrahim,
oh tú hombre dulce,
vente a mí
de noche.
Si no, si no quieres,
iréme a ti,
dime a dónde
encontrarte. (Solá-Solé 83)

Verses such as these convey the desire of the young woman to meet with her lover. There is a sense of veiled sexuality as the meeting is to happen at night, and the woman remarks that she is willing to leave her household to go and meet him herself. Other *Jarchas* offer an unabashed expression of sexual desire:

Sí, sí, ven, oh señor mío,
cuando (si) venís aquí,
la boquita roja
alimentaré (de besos) como la paloma rojiza. (Solá-Solé 85)

In this *Jarcha* there is no hesitation to declare feelings for the beloved. The female voice expresses the need to have her lover with her and the desire to kiss his mouth. The usage of the color red, associated with passion, erases the idea of a simple chaste kiss, implying a passionate encounter with the lover. Even the image of the dove, usually white, is

changed to red, as innocence changes to passion. Similar images are found in the following *Jarcha*:

> Boquita de perlas,
> dulce como la miel,
> ven, bésame.
> Amigo mío, ven a mi lado,
> a unirte conmigo, amando
> como en otro día. (Solá-Solé 156)

In this case the female voice expresses the desire of a union with the beloved ("a unirte conmigo, amando"). Although the passion of the color red disappears, desire is still implied when the mouth is described as being "dulce como la miel," a treat that cannot be denied. While the male lover appears to be passive (he needs to be coerced by the female voice to join her), the woman takes charge of the situation, alluring him to kiss her by describing her attributes ("Boquita de perlas, / dulce como la miel")[22]. The woman takes on an active role, in opposition to the role of the passive male lover. In the *Jarchas*, the lover does not physically appear; he is only spoken to or spoken about. The woman seems to be the one who arranges for a meeting, who pines for him and who asks to be joined to him. The whole expression of these verses revolves around the absence of the lover and the need to be with him, yet the lover never takes the first step to be reunited with the young woman.

These short poems of hybrid origins present a vision of the Oriental woman that may very well have been passed to the Christian imaginary through cultural contact. The Oriental woman would be thus construed as being active in the matters of love. She is the

[22] It is not clear whether or not the physical attributes are a description of the speaking woman or the lover's. If the *Jarcha* describes the physical attributes of the lover, then it can be assumed an objectification by the woman of the man, accentuating the role of the man as passive and contrasting with the activeness and subject quality of the woman. Either interpretation, however, emphasizes the role of the woman as straightforward and dynamic in the pursuit of her lover.

one who lures the lover and who takes action, even by leaving her own household in order to meet with her lover. The descriptions of her lover do not give a clear image of who he is or what he looks like, but appear fragmented: lips, mouth, eyes, neck, curls. These anatomical aspects are described, but they do not appear altogether to form the image of the lover. These fragments, such as the mouth, evoke sensuality and give the impression of objectification. By objectifying the male, the woman is presented as a speaking, active subject. Some of these verses are extremely sensual, making repeated references to the mouth as a means of achieving contact with the lover through a kiss, even making reference to a union, which can be interpreted as the sexual act. The female voice begs and asks repeatedly for this kiss, and entices the lover to give her what she desires. It could be argued that the male author/poet is projecting his own desire for a sexually active counterpart seeking his love. However, these *Jarchas* seem to be part of an oral tradition, the fragments of short songs transcribed into a written format. It could be inferred that the *Jarchas* are really the voice of women and the male author serves as a mediator who preserves these short songs in the written form for the consumption of all.[23]

As Solá-Solé elucidates, the sensual, even provocative thematic is characteristic of Oriental literature. However, when compared with the Christian emphasis on chastity and purity of thought, it is possible to see how this approach to sensuality might have been construed as promiscuity by the Iberian/Christian imaginary. The image of the promiscuous Oriental woman would be then constructed as a seductive, alluring identity that entices the man. [24] She is also straightforward and active in her role of lover. These

[23] There have been studies by María Jesús Rubiera that present the notion that the feminine voice of the Jarchas is the voice of slave-singers, who would remember and sing these short songs (Bernabé Pons 145).
[24] The *Jarchas* utilized in this paper are all part of *moaxajas* written originally in Arabic. There exist as well *Jarchas* that form part of *moaxajas* written in Hebrew.

attributes are to be found in later representations of the Oriental woman, and fit within those characteristics of the hybrid/exotic *pícara*. While some of the *Jarchas* were literary productions by poets, others were part of an oral, popular literary production (García Gómez 40), like the *Romancero*, making it a very likely possibility that the *Jarchas* and their thematic influenced the view of the Oriental woman as perceived by the Iberian/Christian imaginary. These perceptions, as tensions arise and grow between Arabs and Christians, could have very easily become tinted in negativity, changing from recognizing a difference between cultures to assuming deviant behavior in the Oriental woman and her relationship with her partner. An example of this transformation in perceptions of the exotic other is the assumption that moralists and Inquisitors made regarding heterosexual relationships between Muslims: "some of the accused purportedly took the passive role prescribed for women in heterosexual relations, thus perverting the gender order and subverting the order of 'nature'" (Perry, "Veil" 52). The motif of the active Oriental woman opposed to the passive Oriental man that the *Jarchas* represent in their verses, appears centuries later as part of a stereotype, while being utilized and manipulated to persecute *moriscos*.

The idea of a feminized (male) Other and the representation of the exotic woman as a sexualized Other is a common pattern in colonial texts and it establishes the dynamics of the relations between colonizer and colonized: "it needs to be recognized that fantasy and desire, as unconscious processes play a fundamental role in the colonial relation that is established with the colonized" (Yeğenoğlu 2). This concept does not only appear in the *Jarchas*, but it repeats itself in Spanish literary production, as it will be seen in *Cántigas* or in *El Abencerraje*. By the time that the female picaresque novel

appears, there is already an established tradition in Spanish literature of feminized representations of the (male) Other and the exaggerated sexualization of the Orientalized woman. The Iberian Peninsula is by its historical background a transcultural context. Having this in mind, it becomes necessary to recognize that "transcultural mixture alerts us […] to the purifying-defying metamorphoses of individual identity in the 'contact-zones' of an imperial metropolis" (Gilroy 117). For as much as the Spanish state strives to erase markers of difference, they are an intrinsic part of Spanish identity. As Paul Gilroy states, these markers are part of one's identity and this identity will morph according to the constant changes in a "contact-zone" society. Because these markers remain, the representations of the exotic other will reflect those differences that are most evident from the "us"/"they" perspective of the Christian hegemony: the feminized (male) Other and the Orientalized woman as a sexualized Other.

The Oriental woman, as portrayed in the *Jarchas*, is active both in action and in her capacity of speech: she is the one who tells the story rather than being silenced. Although some critics have insisted that poetry in a woman's voice is characteristic of Occidental literature, other critics such as James Monroe problematized the difference between classical Arab poetry and popular poetry, while Emilio García Gómez concluded that "árabes andalusíes cantaban canciones de mujer" (Frenk Alatorre 132-133). If the *Jarchas* are indeed part of a popular tradition, it is likely that they were introduced into the Iberian imaginary by means of cultural contact. The image of the Oriental woman as active in her relationship with her lover is found in Iberian literary production in various occasions. For instance, in the case of *El Abencerraje y la Hermosa Jarifa*, there is a portrayal of the Orientalized woman as being passionate, straightforward and alluring,

taking an active role in her relationship with her lover, while the male takes on a more passive role in the context of love.

El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa (1565) is probably one of the best known works that contains the motif of the Sentimental Moor or Moor in love. In this tale of the frontier, the Arab lord Abindarráez, in love with Jarifa, is captured by a Christian governor, Rodrigo de Narváez. Rodrigo frees Abindarráez upon hearing of his love for Jarifa and his desire to marry her. Abindarráez goes back to Jarifa, marries her, but he needs to go back to his imprisonment in order to fulfill his duty. He tells Jarifa that "De suerte, señora, que vuestro captivo lo es también del alcaide de Alora" (127). Jarifa, now bound to Abindarráez, accompanies him. Upon arrival, Rodrigo welcomes both of them, serves as an intermediary in order for Jarifa's father to accept her marriage to Abindarráez, and Moor and Christian part under bonds of eternal friendship.

The treatment of the Moor in *El Abencerraje* is that of sympathy and respect for the other culture, even, as Darst points out, a "tale of love and friendship" (72). Although on the surface this seems to be a short story that highlights the nobleness of the Moor and the magnanimity of the Christian, there is, however, a clear message of Christian superiority exemplified by the fact that Abindarráez is attacked and subdued by a group of Christians (albeit the unfairness of the fight is apparent, since Abindarráez is only restrained after sustaining a grave injury), and made prisoner by Rodrigo. Upon entering the forest, Abindarráez is described in detail: "él era grande de cuerpo y hermoso de rostro y parescía muy bien a caballo. Traía vestida una marlota de carmesí y un albornoz de damasco del mismo color, todo bordado de oro y plata" (107). The description continues in even more detail about his attire, describing the portrait of Jarifa that he

carries on his right arm. The narrative voice emphasizes various times the appearance and rich garments of the Muslim. The objectification of the Moor is even more apparent when Narváez is portrayed as admiring the physical aspect of Abindárraez: "Rodrigo de Narváez iba mirando su buen talle y disposición" (111). The admiration that the Arab produces on those observing his entrance into the forest has an objectifying effect in his description. Abindarráez is recognized as the enemy, but he is also a source of appeal to the Christian soldiers. This creates a tension between enmity and admiration, rejection and appeal towards the other.

As the story progresses, a friendship develops between Narváez and Abindarráez. In the dynamics of the relation between Narváez and Abindarráez, it is possible to observe a power dynamic between both warriors. Narváez is presented as superior in power to Abindarráez, but he is generous. Abindarráez is the conquered Moor, who nevertheless is as noble as his Christian counterpart. There is no demonization of the Other in the portrayal of Abindarráez, but an expression of equal nobleness of character in both Christian and Moorish knight. After the ambush, Narváez binds himself the Moor's wounds: "le ayudó a levantar, porque de la herida que le dio el escudero en el muslo y en el brazo, aunque no eran grandes, y del gran cansancio y caída quedó quebrantado; y tomando de los escuderos aparejo, le ligó las heridas" (110). This scene brings to mind a similar one from classic literature: the binding of Patroclus' wounds by Achilles, and the friendship between both men. The relationship between Abindarráez and Narváez could be construed as a homosocial relationship. When Abindarráez shows his love for Jarifa: "él dio un grande y profundo sospiro, y habló algunas palabras en

algarabía, que ninguno entendió" (111), Narváez allows him to leave his captivity and reunite with his bride in order to fulfill his promise to marry her.

The story focuses heavily on the men of the story, highlighting the homosocial relationship between the two. Jarifa, the female protagonist of the story is relegated to the margins of the plot as she observes the association between both men develop and deepen, while she is left outside of those bonds of friendship. Because this is a relationship of friendship within a homosocial context, Jarifa has no influence or a place within it. Jarifa's portrayal follows the stereotyping ideas of the Oriental woman. As a matter of fact, her characteristics are very similar to those that are found in the Andalusian *Jarchas*: Jarifa is the one that actively pursues a consummation of her marriage to Abindarráez. She is the active element in their relationship, while Abindarráez is left as the passive element that will do as she wishes. He is also passive in his relationship with Narváez, since he is bound to his word that he will return to the Christian lord's castle: he is acted upon, he does not seem to act of his own free will. Regardless of her active role, Jarifa cannot enter the relationship between Abindarráez and Narváez. As a matter of fact, Abindarráez would have left Jarifa's side in order to return to Narváez. Since Jarifa takes an active role, instead of waiting for her husband's return, she travels with Abindarráez back to Narváez's castle.

Jarifa, in her portrayal as an Orientalized woman, is first and foremost defined by her tantalizing sexuality. Abindarráez first describes his initial love for her in platonic terms: Jarifa and Abindarráez grew up as brother and sister, raised in the same household. It is after the discovery that they are not really blood-related that their relationship changes: "aquel amor limpio y sano que nos teníamos, se comenzó a dañar y se convirtió

en una rabiosa enfermedad, que nos durara hasta la muerte" (118-19). The metaphorical description of love as a disease and the beloved as the one who has the means to "cure" that disease is the same motif that appears in the *Jarchas*, where love is an ailment and the lover the one who can cure it. The portrayal of Jarifa since the very beginning mirrors that of the feminine enamored voice in the *Jarchas*. Once Abindarráez and Jarifa reunite, it is Jarifa who pushes for a clandestine marriage that takes place in the presence of one of her maids: "Yo os mandé venir a ser mi prisionero, como yo lo soy vuestra y haceros señor de mi persona" (124), and its consummation afterwards: "Y llamando a la dueña se desposaron. Y siendo desposados se acostaron en su cama, donde con la nueva experiencia encendieron más el fuego de sus corazones" (125). Although Jarifa tells Abindarráez that he is the one who is going to be the master of her being, it is obvious that she is the one active element in their relationship: she calls to him, allows him into her house, marries him and they consummate their marriage on her bed.[25] As Rosilie Hernández-Pecoraro explains: "Jarifa's playful seduction is an unanticipated challenge to the expectations of demure feminine behavior that accompanies traditional amatory convention" (434). Jarifa is put into the position of the seductress, of the active element in the male/female dynamic, and in the process she is also framed within the stereotype of the Orientalized woman.

Jarifa is active, even aggressive in her sexuality, but she does comply first with societal rules. The circumstances of her marriage to Abindarráez are in part realistic from a Christian perspective, since clandestine marriages did happen on a regular basis. Cervantes, for instance, includes one of these cases in *Don Quijote* in the episode that

[25] Abindarráez was on his way to see Jarifa after receiving a message from her when he was ambushed by the Christian soldiers.

makes reference to Dorotea's story, where the Christian woman is victimized, tricked by her lover, and then abandoned. Barbara Mujica explains that "Clandestine marriages, in which couples made their vows in private without parental consent, witnesses, or clergy, put the woman at a disadvantage" (xxxviii). This disadvantage is obvious, since the man could be only interested in sexual favors, and then abandon her, as the example previously mentioned. The issue of clandestine marriages became so severe that the Council of Trent (1545-63) requested the presence of clergy in a marriage, where before it had recognized this type of marriage (Mujica xxxvii-viii). Although it may seem that Jarifa goes against societal rules when she insists on the marriage rather than waiting to speak to her family first, it is necessary to recognize that this was a common practice, at least among Christians. This story presents the exotic other as someone with similar values and customs as Christians, which would explain the situation of a clandestine marriage between Moors, a situation to be found in other literary production.

Jarifa, however, does not fall in the same category as the previously mentioned Dorotea: she has a witness, she performs the active role in their relationship, and she makes sure that she follows Abindarráez to his imprisonment. Not even the thought of becoming a prisoner effaces Jarifa's intentions of staying with him. She is not tricked or abandoned by Abindarráez, or at least not directly. When Abindarráez, with Jarifa at his side, returns to Narváez's castle, Jarifa is surprised to witness the friendship between both men, a friendship she is not a part of. Before meeting Narváez, Abindarráez and Jarifa are told a story from Narváez's past on the way to the castle to illustrate his noble character. This story mirrors the situation that Jarifa is about to experience. In the story, a young bride listens to her husband as he speaks of Narváez in the highest of terms,

concluding that "¿Los hombres están enamorados de este caballero, y que no lo esté yo de él, estándolo él de mí?" (129). This reaction demonstrates the homosocial relationship among men, but also the marginalization of the woman in these type of relationships: she is surprised upon hearing her husband speak of Narváez (who has confessed to her his platonic love for her), and even connects this admiration to actual romantic love. When she offers herself freely to Narváez, he chooses the honor of his friend over becoming the lover of his friend's beautiful wife, even though he loved her. Jarifa, upon hearing the story, comments: "él debía estar muy poco enamorado, pues tan presto se salió afuera y pudo más con él la honra del marido que la hermosura de la mujer" (131). In Jarifa's opinion, the beauty and the attraction toward the woman should have been a stronger factor than protecting the husband's honor. Jarifa makes these comments, seemingly without realizing that she herself is following Abindarráez because honor and his word bind him to Narváez, and not even his marriage to Jarifa stops him from fulfilling his promise to the Christian governor. Jarifa becomes almost obsolete when faced with the friendship between Narváez and Abindarráez: there is not a place for her as her husband takes the place of the feminine in his relationship with Narvaéz. He will do as Narváez asks, while Jarifa, regardless of her beauty and forwardness, is basically overlooked. This aspect becomes most obvious when Narváez inquires of Abindarráez's wounds received during the ambush, wounds that Jarifa knew nothing about. While Abindarráez does not confide to Jarifa the extent of his injuries, that is, he shows no weakness to his bride, he does not hesitate to tell Narváez that "Parésceme, señor, que con el camino las trayo enconadas y con algún dolor" (132). He is more comfortable in his relationship with Narváez, being able to express weakness, than in his relationship with Jarifa.

The two most important aspects of *El Abencerraje y la Hermosa Jarifa* with regards to this study are, first, the maurophilic expression existent in the text through the motif of the Sentimental Moor, or enamored Moor. This maurophilic expression, however, carries within it a tension of conqueror/conquered, in that the Christian lord is presented as superior in character and strength when compared to the Moor. As a matter of fact, he is even superior in influence within Abindarráez and Jarifa's world, since he is the one to convince Jarifa's father to accept his daughter's marriage to Abindarráez. Second, Jarifa's sexuality and straightforwardness are reminiscent of the *Jarchas*, strengthening the idea of the Orientalized woman as sensual and active in the matters of love.

Love is also a central theme in other texts that are maurophilic in nature. The story of "Ozmín y Daraja," is inserted in the picaresque novel *El Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) and it shows many of the motifs also found in the book by Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595). Both works are maurophilic in nature, as they present Moorish culture as chivalric and as a vessel of codes very similar to the Christian ones. The message that both works seem to put forward is that Christian and Muslim values are not so different, and that Muslim knights are as noble as Christian knights. However, there exists a tension in between the lines, exemplified by the necessity of integration of the Moor in Christian culture/society. The Moor is not so different from the Christian, but he needs to assimilate into the hegemonic culture, and the most important proof of assimilation is by means of religious conversion. In these two works, religion is the main marker of difference, as opposed to ethnicity, values, or customs. Furthermore, if Christ is the head of the "true religion" and "true salvation," it is only

logical that the "infidels," who are in reality as noble as Christians, would accept sooner or later the implied superiority of Christianity. Consequently, the conversions to Christianity of the principal characters are the final culmination of both works and they bring to light the portrayal of Christian religion as superior to Islamic religion. Although I would not classify these texts as maurophobic, there is an underlying tone in both writings that reflects a growing strain between both cultures, and the overwhelming necessity of the Christian to assimilate the Moor into Christian culture and religion.

In the short tale "Ozmín y Daraja," we follow these two lovers as they are separated after Daraja is taken captive by the Christians, and we are witness to the efforts of these betrothed lovers to reunite and marry. Daraja, thanks to her ability to speak Spanish, her beauty, and her noble upbringing soon becomes a favorite of Queen Isabella of Castile. Leaving her with other nobles in Seville while the Queen goes to make war on Granada, Daraja is dressed in Christian clothing and is integrated as much as possible into Christian society. She is constantly surrounded by Christian companions and she lives in a Christian household. All markers of her Muslim identity are erased as much as possible. Some of the upper class lords even woo her in an effort to gain her hand in marriage. In the meantime, her secret promised husband, Ozmín, finds every possible way to be close to his bride, changing clothing and identity as many as eleven times, but as Darst explains, "he fails in his first role as an Andalusian gentleman and in his second impersonation as Rodrigo de Padilla. Clearly these sudden shifts to the Christian side aren't the appropriate ones at that time in his career" (83). For as much as he tries, and for as creative as his efforts are to disguise himself in order to be by Daraja's side, Ozmín fails miserably time after time. Ozmín is initially successful at fooling Christians into

believing he is a Christian himself, but soon his ruse is discovered. He cannot maintain his invented Christian identity for long. This failure is very possibly a reflection of the preoccupations produced in Christian society by the fear of not being able to recognize markers of difference in the exotic other. By having Ozmín fail, the idea that the Muslim should not be able to pass himself as Christian is reinforced. Contrary to Ozmín's experience, Daraja easily fits into Christian society. However, Daraja is not trying to pass herself as a Christian: she does not have a need for it because she is a captive in Christian land, and, although she has altered her appearance, she is still perceived as Muslim. As a matter of fact, regardless of the wishes of those around her to convert her to Christianity, Daraja does not become Christian until later in the story when she is asked by the Queen herself. Daraja waits for her future husband to be at her side, and together they join the Christian church, becoming a symbol of the fantasy of assimilation of Muslims into Christian society.

The tale of "Ozmín and Daraja" can be classified as a historical romance. It is set in the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, but written for a seventeenth century audience. *Guzmán de Alfarache* is published but a few years before the final expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609. By going back to the past of *La Reconquista*, Ozmín and Daraja's story removes itself from a tense cultural context. At this moment, *moriscos* are rebelling against forced rules intended for them to be further assimilated into Christian society. They are also constantly suspect of not having truly converted to Christianity. Alemán sets the tale of the two Muslim lovers in the romanticized past of *La Reconquista*, and emphasizes only the positive aspects of Ozmín and Daraja's conversion story. By having Isabella and Ferdinand, the paragons of Christianity, accept the conversion of the two

Muslim lovers, the reader is faced with the notion that a true conversion is possible. Ozmín and Daraja's beauty and youth also make them prime candidates for becoming exemplar members of society, who will form a family and educate their children in their new Christian faith. This message to the reader is achieved by avoiding any mention of the synchronic situation of *moriscos* in Spain, but rather concentrating on the glorious past of the "holy war" and the end of *La Reconquista*. Basically, Alemán avoids confronting problematic current issues by setting the story in a romanticized past.

Daraja's success in Christian territory stems from the fact that she is not trying to hide. It may also be linked to the fact that women are perceived as being more docile and less dangerous than men. Daraja, because of her gender, is not perceived as a threat while Ozmín is. As Darst mentions, Ozmín is not successful when performing some of his "Christian identities" during his "career" as a simulated Christian. At a first look, he is not recognized as a Moor, not even as a *morisco*, thanks to his noble upbringing, and his ability of speaking Castilian. It is only when don Rodrigo, one of the Christian nobles left in charge of Daraja, observes Ozmín and Daraja constantly conversing with each other in the garden, that Ozmín's cover is threatened: "la que más lo turbó fue sospechar si su jardinero era moro que con cautela hubiera venido a robar a Daraja" (225). It is important to note that physical markers are not an issue here: the only marker of difference between Arabs and Christians according to this scene is language. This fact could also make reference to a class issue rather than a race issue: both Ozmín and Daraja come from the Arab aristocracy, they are noble, thus their appearance is portrayed and even assumed to be similar to noble Christians. [26] Although don Rodrigo does not know

[26] This portrayal of Arab nobility following the parameters (appearance, valour, riches) of Christian nobility will be explored in the section dealing with *Guerras civiles de Granada*.

that this is the case, and perceives Ozmín as a simple gardener, the reader knows that Ozmín belongs to the aristocracy of Granada thanks to the background information given by the narrator: "Ozmín [era], primo hermano de Mahomet, rey que llamaron Chiquito, de Granada" (218). I believe that this treatment of Ozmín's character shows the underlying fear on the Christian side of not being able to tell who is a *morisco* and who is a Christian. Ozmín utilizes mimesis to imitate the hegemonic discourse, creating "a deliberate performance of sameness that necessarily threatens, or at least, modifies, the original" (Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire* 5). Ozmín is thus perceived as a threat as he is constantly discovered in his trickery, to the point that, unable to ascertain his identity, the authorities decide to execute him (although he is saved at the very last moment).

Both Ozmín and Daraja convert to Christianity at the end of the tale, after finding out that their parents are already Christian and being asked by Queen Isabella herself: "Pidióles que […] el amor ni temor los obligase, sino solamente el de Dios y de salvarse" (259). The magnanimous offer from the Queen allows them to make their choice, and both of them convert to Christianity. The Queen's words express the underlying message that Christian religion is the true religion because of the power of salvation. It is only logical that Ozmín and Daraja, young, noble and loving with each other, would achieve a "happy" ending by Christian standards. Most importantly, they cease being a threat to Christian society: Ozmín does not need to make himself pass as a Christian, and Daraja is now a Christian woman who will have Christian children. Although the tone of the novel is sympathetic toward the Moor, there is no denying the pressure to convert the Moor to Christianity, creating in the process a homogenous European society, with no markers of difference.

Ginés Pérez de Hita presents in *Guerras civiles de Granada* a highly idealized Moorish culture based on obvious aspects of Christian culture, specifically, chivalric romance, while it explores the different love triangles among nobles in Granada and it exposes the tension between two of the most influential houses of Granada: the Zegríes and the Abencerrajes. The portrayal of the Moor is without question sympathetic and maurophilic, but there is a manifest emphasis on the superiority of Christian religion over Islamic religion. Pérez de Hita presents a chivalric world within the walls of Granada, where knights and ladies vie for each other's love, and where knights, in order to prove their worth, leave the protection of the city to engage in quick battles or *escaramuzas*, with their neighboring Christian enemies. In these *escaramuzas* the valor of both Moor and Christian is showcased, becoming almost impossible to even take sides since both Moor and Christian are presented as valiant, honorable and deserving of victory. There is, however, one digression: the question of religious faith. The superiority of Christianity stems from its construction as a true religion and being the only means to achieve salvation. As in the case of Ozmín, it is possible to perceive a discourse that suggests that it is only logical that these brave, honorable Muslims who rival the Christians in worth would see "the truth" sooner or later and convert to Christianity.

Such is the case of the Moorish knight Albayaldos, who about to die after a *escaramuza*, asks to be converted to Christianity: "Y llamándolo por su nombre, Albayaldos abrió los ojos, y con voz muy débil y flaca, como hombre que se le acababa la vida, dijo que quería ser cristiano" (123). His dying wish is granted and he is administered the last rites, dying in peace as a Christian. Scenes such as this one, put into focus the tension that underlies maurophilic texts. Even though the Moor is admired and

treated as equal in honor to the Christian knight, the text advocates for the homogenization of Spain through a common religion. The Moor is admired, loved and respected, but the Christian mind cannot accept the practice of Islam. Why would a noble warrior worship a "false" religion having the option of converting to Christianity? Those who remain Muslims are bound to lose everything in the temporal world, and even lose their salvation after death. As Darst explains, there is a clear break between the Islamic loser and the Christianized winner: those who join the Christian church are the ones who "win" in the end, as exemplified by the unconverted Muslims who lose their homes and possessions, and are shipped back to Africa against their will after the defeat of Granada (80).

The Moorish woman resembles her Christian counterpart in the chivalric canon. The various damsels who abide in the Court in Granada are beautiful, graceful, discrete and in love. However, some of the damsels do show traits considered negative in a woman, such as envy, competitiveness, and assertiveness in their relationships with their supposedly platonic lovers. This is the case of Zayda, when she speaks directly to Zayde in private during the night, and even allows him into her household in order to talk to him: "Pues como la hermosa mora oyó la canción y sintió pena con que su amante la decía, no pudo dejar de hacer el mismo sentimiento que su amante" (48).[27] The straightforwardness of Zaida is comparable to Jarifa's taking the initiative in her marriage to Abindarráez, or to the feelings expressed by the feminine voice in the *Jarchas*. This behavior contrasts with the humble, passive behavior expected of the Christian woman, who is expected to remain in the home and to be silent (León 124). Furthermore, it is in

[27] Clandestine meetings at night are also a motif of the Spanish *Comedia* of the time. The transgressing *cristiana* will meet her love interest during the night and in secret. It is perceived as deviant behavior and in the end it is discovered.

instances such as these that the principles of courtly love are broken, since courtly love emphasizes the platonic nature of love, where the woman is to be admired from a distance and she is perceived as an inspiration for the knight "to do great deeds of powress" (Kaeuper 26). Zaida and Zaide do not maintain their relationship in platonic terms, seeking contact with each other.

Although the portrayal of the Moorish woman might deviate from the courtly love canon, she is described in terms of Christian beauty: she has hair the color of gold (83), and in various occasions the "clara estirpe" of the nobles of both sexes is mentioned. The word "clara" has two connotations: clear as in being of clean, royal blood, and white as in fair-skinned.[28] Again, we encounter a representation of the Moor in a maurophilic text in which appearance is not a marker of difference. Moors and Christians fight alike, live alike and look alike. The only highly remarked difference found between Moors and Christians besides their religion is their attire. The detailed description shows the allure that the Christian feels when in presence of the Moor (already seen in *El Abencerraje*), and even an objectification of both men and women. Moors become objects to look at and to be admired on many occasions, especially when contrasted to the descriptions of the Christians. Hita describes in detail their intricate garments,:

> El Malique y Albayaldos iban de una misma librea azul, de damasco, marlota y capellar, con muchos fresos de oro. (120)
> Llevaba el bravo moro […] sobre un jubón de armar una muy fina cota que llaman jazerina, y encima un peto fuerte, aforrado en terciopelo verde; sobre ella una rica marlota del mismo tercipelo, labrado en oro, y por ella sembradas muchas DD de oro, hechas en arábigo (…) El bonete era verde con ramos de oro labrado, y lazadas con las mismas DD. Llevaba una adarga hecha en Fez, y atravesado por ella un listón verde, y en el medio una cifra; y era una mano de una doncella que apretaba con ella un corazón. (17)

[28] Many among the Arab aristocracy married Christian women from the north of the Iberian Peninsula, with the result that many members of the Arab royalty were fair skinned and blue-eyed (Dodds, Menocal and Balbale 22).

The colorful, rich clothing of the Moors, and the meticulous detail with which it is described, contrasts greatly with the austere description of Christian attire, simply "pardo y verde" (117). Could this marker of difference have something to do with religious association? Could the narrator be implying that the Christian is a humble, modest man, a Christ-like figure as opposed to the opulent Moor? The Christ-like figure, through deeds and example, is able to convert the "infidel" to Christianity, and to give them a place in Christian society, even, as in the case of Ozmín and Daraja, with the blessing of the Queen herself. The Moor cannot be accepted as Moor into Christian society, but only as a *morisco*. Conversion is necessary.

It can be argued that maurophilia, although present in the literary tradition, is limited. The Moor is admired as long as he (or she) has the potential of conversion: they are presented as equal in nobility and character to the Christians, maybe more so than the Christians themselves, however, it is difficult not to ignore the desire on the Christian's part for the Moor to be assimilated into Christian culture. The Moor is loved, but he is even more beloved and esteemed once conversion into Christianity takes place.

Love and admiration are not the only tendency present in Spain's literary traditions.[29] In the Medieval oral tradition we find a pronounced maurophobic portrayal of the Moor, in which the Arab male is feminized and scorned. The Medieval *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* (1200s)[30] are popular songs labeled such because they are the

[29] *El Romancero* is one of Spain's richest literary productions. Based on longer epic poems, *El Romancero* is part of Spain's oral tradition, sung and listened to by the popular classes. Within these songs it is possible to find examples of the *Romance fronterizo* and of the *Romance morisco*. The *Romance fronterizo* deals with historic events during the time of the Reconquista and is framed within the theme of war. The *Romance morisco* shows the Moor in love and echoes the motif of the Sentimental Moor (Río 277-78).
[30] These songs, meant to be sung by troubadours, show as early as the thirteenth century maurophobic themes, even though they exist parallel to maurophilic oral literary production (*Romancero morisco*, *El cantar de Mío Cid*).

ones composed when the troubadours "mean to speak ill of someone in them" (Liu 52), and generally express themselves "in the form of direct obscenities" (Liu 52). Certain songs make direct reference to frontier life and to the Moor, portraying a feminized view of the Moor that leaves no question about accusations of homosexuality and lack of manliness.[31]

"Cántiga 24," "O que foi passar a serra," focuses on a Castilian nobleman who returns to his homeland after fighting against the Moors. As he crosses the mountains to prepare for war against the Muslims, the King damns him repeatedly because the nobleman's feet drag and he walks at the rear of the line: "e por non ir nos primeiros […] maldito seja!" (Doubleday 193). According to Doubleday, this is "a phrase which in *gallego-portugués* has obscene underscores of homosexuality" (193). The soldier is accused to not have gone to fight against Granada or any of the towns that the Christians had meant to conquer:

> é por non ir a Graada
> que faroneja? (Doubleday 193)[32]

These lines include veiled accusations of sympathy or allegiance to the Moors, as the nobleman obviously does not wish to attack Granada, accusations that can be read as a suspicion that this nobleman might not be a descendent of "clean blood." His role in the army seems to be passive:

> O que meteu na taleiga
> pouc' aver e muita meiga
> e por non entrar na Veiga
> que faroneja? (Doubleday 193)

---

[31] This paper will make reference to the *Cantigas* included in the articles by Benjamin Liu and Simon R. Doubleday.

[32] Translations for *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de mal dizer* by J.Wilhelm, ed. *Lyrics of the Middle Ages, An Anthology.* NY: Garland, 1990.

The nobleman is not interested in looting and conquest, as the references to the lack of gold in his bags and his excuses to not enter the city of Vega indicate. The context of this military campaign is the *Reconquista*, in which this nobleman does not wish to participate. Because of this implied allegiance to the Muslim world, the nobleman is feminized (he is passive, as his lack of booty indicates), and accused of those things that do not befit a Christian male: cowardice, disloyalty and sodomy. The identification of the Moor with homosexuality was a tool with which to justify the "moral superiority" of the Spanish Reconquista over the occupation of Islam in the Peninsula. In his book *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, Nabil Matar draws parallels between the America conquest and the perception of the Native Americans, with the Western perceptions of the Oriental Other. Matar explains that "Nothing was more convenient to the *conquistadores* than to see the pervert as the Moor or the Indian. In America the homosexuality of the natives conveniently rendered them immoral in the eyes of the conquerors, thereby legitimizing their destruction, conversion or domination" (110). In the case of Spain, the perception of the Other as homosexual begins in the Middle-Ages, and then is carried to the Americas during the first encounter with the natives of these lands. By portraying the Moor as homosexual, the effect that Mattar explains to have taken place in the Americas, had happened before in the Iberian Peninsula, where culture contact was a reality. If the Moor is constructed as "immoral," then their expulsions and/or conversions are fully accepted. As Benjamin Liu points out: "The cultural anxiety concerning sexual misalliance has less to do with mere contact than with the concomital potential for mixing, for losing both self-definition and group belonging" (48). The image of the admired, "Sentimental Moor" of *El Abencerraje* is not

present, instead the representation of the Moor as either feminized, lascivious, or homosexual is reinforced (Liu 59). According to Liu, these representations of the Moor serve as a way of doubly marginalizing the minority.

One of the most important aspects of *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*, I believe, is that they offer a unique view into the popular psyche. As mentioned before, these songs were sung by troubadours, and listened to by both townspeople and nobles. As a matter of fact, Liu remarks that "the law, which attempts to restrict the potentially infinite ambiguities of language, is the discursive antithesis of *escarnho* poetry" (54). *Escarnho* poetry subverts the hegemonic system and becomes a popular means of expression due to all its ambiguities and innuendos. *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* are a window into the perceptions of the Moor by the common Christian, perceptions tinted by maurophobic tendencies, but at the same time, they demonstrate a fascination with the ethnic minorities of the peninsula. Although the representation of the Moor is negative in these popular literary productions, it shows that the Christian is not indifferent to the Muslim presence in the peninsula. It is also important to note that *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* appear in the Gaelic-Portuguese tradition, stemming from the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. Could geographic placement have a repercussion in the representations of the oriental other?[33] Northern Spain was the area that the Muslims occupied for the shortest period of time, and this brief contact could have

[33] In Medieval works from other European countries, such as *La Chanson de Roldan*, there is a marked demonization of the oriental other, while in similar Peninsular epic works such as *El cantar de Mío Cid*, there is no demonization, but a pragmatic approach to describing the relationships between Christians and Muslims. This could be explained due to the experience of frontier life in Spain and the constant contact with Muslims, while in geographical areas such as France, where contact with Muslims or Orientalized others occurs through the retelling of travelers' experiences, there is a demonization and a deformation of the Muslim as Other.

resulted in a more marked opposition and less understanding between Christian and Moor.

These examples of literary production framed within the Medieval and the Early Modern periods demonstrate the ambivalent attitude toward the oriental other in the Iberian Peninsula. Maurophilia and maurophobia are reactions to the presence of Moors and *moriscos* in the midst of Iberian society, and reflect the ambivalent attitude of both acceptance and rejection toward them. These tendencies remain in the Spanish/Christian imaginary and consequently influence the representations of ethnic minorities, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in the writings of literary authors. These tendencies shape and influence the representations of both orientalized women and men in Medieval and Early Modern literary production, representations that reinforce stereotypical constructs of the exotic other into the Christian imaginary. These representations result in the exotization of the oriental woman and the feminization of the oriental man. The Orientalized woman is presented as straightforward and the active participant in the matters of love, while the Orientalized man is represented as passive, and even in maurophilic representations, he is feminized and portrayed as inferior to the Christian man. There is also a tangible tension in the need to convert the Other into Christianity, emphasizing the necessity of a united Spain under a common faith and government. These excerpts from *Las jarchas*, *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer*, and from the *novela morisca* also provide the cultural context within which the exotic woman is defined in Early Modern Spain, and to forshadow the *pícara*.

The Hybrid *Pícara*: *Conversas* and *Moriscas*

The representations of *conversas* and *moriscas* have been studied from a historical point of view and from the literary perspective. One of Spain's most rich genres, the picaresque, provides us with representations of *pícaras* who are also *moriscas* and *conversas*. Among the picaresque voices existent in literature, it is possible to find some female voices amongst the preponderance of their male counterparts, the *pícaros*. These female voices belong to the *pícara*, but are in their vast majority authored by males. Stuart Hall points out that "practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the positions of enunciation" (233-34). As can be seen from the cultural and historical frame that these authors are writing from, questions of identity and hybridity were of great concern and caused tensions and strain in Early Modern Spanish society. A genre, such as the picaresque, that portrays representations of those marginalized by mainstream society, would naturally reflect those tensions. Because Spain is "different" from the rest of Europe due to the mixture of ethnic groups, unavoidable after centuries of *Convivencia*, Spain's identity and projection as European nation is in jeopardy. Homi Bhabha elucidates that "from the liminal movement of the culture of the nation – at once opened up and held together – minority discourse emerges" (222). Hybridity, a liminal space between cultural expression and historicity where identity surfaces, is key to showing how Spanish identity is threatened by the presence of a mixed culture. This presence, however, also gives Spain its "Spanishness," it makes the nation different from other European nations, setting it apart with its own identity. Although the Spanish state wished to become non-Oriental in the eyes of Europe, the truth of the matter was that the Oriental elements in its culture gave

Spain "a sense of a distinct national culture, deliberately rehearsed in princely entertainments at home and abroad" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 10). The presence of Oriental elements, thus, were also perceived as bringing some positive factors to the construction of Spanish identity.

The canonical picaresque (in which the *pícaro* is the main character) does indeed reveal questions of identity and mixed heritage, while the female picaresque does so directly through the construction of the *pícara* as *conversa* or *morisca*, giving the reader an insight into the stereotypes and treatment of the doubly marginalized Other, both as woman and as a racialized member of Early Modern Spanish society. The latest studies of the female picaresque forgo analysis of a trait common to these *pícaras* who happen to be also prostitutes: exotization, and even self-objectification. [34] It is not by coincidence that the *pícara* is presented as a prostitute or public woman. She is also constructed as a woman of mixed origins. In works such as *La Lozana andaluza*, *La pícara Justina*, or *La hija de Celestina*, the *pícara*'s heritage is mixed, and these origins appear in the text in both an explicit and an implicit manner. In her book *Prostituidas por el texto*, Enriqueta Zafra mentions that "la pícara generalmente ni pasa hambre, ni es moza de muchos amos, ni casi nunca viaja sola […] la mujer está mucho más determinada sexualmente que el hombre" (17). The *pícara*'s breadwinning occupation, with few exceptions, has everything to do with her body and her sexuality. In the case of picaresque novels in which the main protagonist is female and dedicates herself to prostitution, her "pureza de sangre" is murky at best. Why do these authors portray the *pícara*-prostitute as a *conversa* or *morisca*? I believe that there are two reasons. First, it would be easier to

[34] Recent works on female picaresque include studies by critics such as Anne Cruz, Edward Friedman, Jannine Montauban and Enriqueta Zafra, among others.

portray a woman of mixed origin as a prostitute: they already had the stigma of being "unclean" due to their non-Christian blood. As Perry remarks, "Moriscas […] appeared to many Christians of Golden Age Spain as sensual and lewd, wearing exotic clothing as they danced and sang" ("Veil" 37). This "lewdness" would play an important role in portraying more effortlessly the *pícara* as a prostitute as well. Second, the racialized woman is defined in direct opposition to the ideal of female decorum. The virtue of the Christian woman is thus saved, since chastity and fidelity within marriage bonds are the ideals of the Christian woman in Early Modern society (León 11-12). It is also significant to note that, while sexual relations between Moorish or Jewish men and Christian women were prohibited at this time and harshly punished, "[d]ouble standards seem to apply along the axes of gender and religion. No such prohibitions are articulated for relations involving Christian men and Jewish or Muslim women" (Liu 55). The portrayal of the *pícara*/prostitute as a *morisca* or *conversa* offers no conflicts with the law, as it is legitimate for a Christian man to have sexual relations with someone of a different ethnicity.

Perry further explains that "Christians, who identified *moriscos* as a separate race still clinging to an abhorrent religion, often attacked *moriscos* as a group through criticism of their women and their sexual practices" ("Veil" 45). Although the perception of *moriscos* and *conversos* by Christians had no truthful basis, misconceptions about *moriscas* that appear in literary production do mimic these false impressions. Among these stereotypes existed accusations of witchcraft, blasphemy and unbridled sexuality (Perry, "Veil" 45-46). The high number of children, and the fact that the Muslim

community exalted marriage over celibacy, contributed to this stereotypical construct of the *morisca* as licentious (Perry, "Veil" 45).

These perceptions of a heightened sexuality in *moriscas* are a stark contrast to the ideal expected of the Christian woman. Chastity, passive behavior and silence were considered the model the pious Christian woman should aspire to (which doesn't necessarily mean that these values were rigorously followed). In the Early Modern period in Spain, one of the most discussed topics amongst philosophers and thinkers is the situation of woman in relation to man. Even though man is considered a human being, woman is perceived as an incomplete human being (Mujica xxxiii). This question of the humanity of women has as a consequence the construction of women as weak and deficient. Philosophers and religious figures such as Joan Lluis Vives or Fray Luis de León, advocate for relegating the woman to the home, with her husband as head and master of the family (León 45), and keeping her from reading anything but devotional books: "y que las excusen y las libren de leer en los libros de caballerías, y del traer el soneto y la canción en el seno, y del billete y del donaire de los recaudos, y del terrero y del sarao, y de otras cien cosas de este jaez" (León 55). Fray Luis de León divides women in two groups: the meek ones and the rebellious ones, or "leonas" as he calls them. He makes reference to the lack of intelligence of the woman when compared to the man (125), and the necessity of keeping silent: "en todas es, no sólo condición agradable, sino virtud debida, el silencio y el hablar poco" (124). Joan Lluis Vives in his book *De officio mariti* also silences women by saying that "el silencio […] es el gran ornamento del sexo femenino" (Vives 146), and the only type of education that women should receive is the one that teaches them how to be a woman according to societal constructs

(Bergman 127). Emile Bergman studies the construction of women in Joan Lluis Vives' *De officio mariti* and explains that Vives advocates for ending the control the mother has on her children by sending the child to institutions away from the home and the mother (130). By lessening the role of motherhood in society, the mother (the woman) is left without power. Vives goes as far as implying that the best type of mother is a dead one (Bergman 131). There is a clear effort in these *tratados* to control female sexuality, in order to guard the family's honor. The control of female sexuality would be threatened by the perceived notion that the Moorish woman or *morisca* lacks control of her own sexuality and is lascivious.

It could be argued that these references do not reflect common society, but are simply an idealization of what society should be. However, Mujica maintains that

> Although the obsession with honor and the resulting uxoricide on the Spanish stage may not mirror how Spaniards actually lived, it is certainly safe to say that female chastity was a real concern during this period and that an avenging husband had the law on his side […] Honor was a psychological reality for Early Modern Spanish men. No blemish on the virtue of a woman could be tolerated. Even in cases of rape, it was the woman and her family who were dishonored, not the perpetrator of the crime. (xl-li)

Having this cultural perception of honor and chastity and its implications for Early Modern Spanish women in mind, it is clear that the *pícara*/prostitute is constructed in opposition to the expectations of the Christian mind on women. The *pícara* breaks away from all these idealizations: she does not keep silent, but speaks, she does not keep herself chaste and virgin, but exhibits sexual desire and takes pleasure in her sexuality. The *pícara* does not remain indoors, but travels and lives a public life. The *pícara* even enjoys certain autonomy, as she chooses her lovers and the part that they will play in her life. She is a subversive element in patriarchal society and a doubly marginalized member

of Early Modern society due to her ethnicity and her gender. Regardless of her marginalized situation, she is alluring and commands the attention of men, appealing to them, tricking them, and tempting them.

Because there are also transgressing identities within literary representations of Christian women, it is necessary to address examples of these identities, specifically within Early Modern theater.[35] Theater allows for an understanding of mainstream culture, especially when taking into account works by Lope de Vega or Calderón de la Barca who were extremely popular among the masses. Keeping in mind that the picaresque genre was also written for entertainment, albeit from a marginalized perspective, the comparison and the analysis of the differences between *pícaras* and transgressing *cristianas* will elucidate new insights into the purpose of the masculine voice when stressing traits such as exaggerated sexuality or wit in the racialized *pícara*. In plays such as *La dama Duende* by Calderón de la Barca or *La dama boba* by Lope de Vega, the protagonist is a deviant woman who breaks the expectations of feminine behavior by subverting the laws of patriarchy and "honor." There are, however, various differences between *pícaras* and transgressing *cristianas*, among them the racialization of the *pícara*/prostitute, and the exclusion of racial markers in the case of the c*ristiana*. The main protagonists in the mentioned plays "hide" their bodies under veils and capes in order to subvert the established order. Their bodies become invisible and even de-sexualized, which contrast with the graphic sexualization of *pícaras* such as Lozana or Justina. The transgressing *cristiana* breaks and subverts patriarchal rules, and in the end,

[35] These transgressing cristianas do not only appear on a regular basis in Early Modern theater, but also in other genres, such as María de Zayas' *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*.

makes a good marriage to her love interest. Her "transgressions" are perceived as a playful game, rather than as a serious offense as it is the case of prostitution.[36]

Early Modern literary production recognizes the presence of those who are outside the "normal" in Spanish society, and even makes them the protagonist in the picaresque genre. The picaresque genre made its "official" appearance in Spanish literature with *Lazarillo de Tormes* in 1554. Prior to *Lazarillo*, other works exhibited picaresque traits, such as *La Celestina* (1499), and *La Lozana andaluza* (1525).[37] The picaresque has been considered a genre that reflects or represents those who are at the margins of society: the rogue, the prostitute, the witch, those without a place in patriarchal society. The personages that form the voices of the picaresque novel are, for the most part, those who do not fit in "normal" society.

It is possible to divide the various *pícaras* of Early Modern Spanish literary production in two categories: prostitutes and non-prostitutes. The non-prostitutes are portrayed as white women who use their "ingenio," their wit, in order to provide for themselves and achieve a comfortable life.[38] The prostitutes, however, sell their body and use their "ingenio" in order to gain material gain. These *pícaras*/prostitutes are of *converso*/*morisco* origins, and in a Christian society obsessed with *limpieza de sangre*, these prostitutes would be considered, only by their very origin alone "impure." The *pícara* is represented in literary production by following the stereotypes prevalent in Early Modern Spain about the *morisca*, such as straightforwardness and unabashed

[36] This may be a result of the social status of these transgressing *cristianas* who belong to society's upper crust. Other *cristianas* who are also transgressing, but belong to the lower classes are directly connected to the occupation of prostitution, such as the case of Maritornes in *Don Quijote*.
[37] Note that in both of these early proto-picaresque works, the main protagonist is a woman rather than a *pícaro*.
[38] In other picaresque works such as *Las harpías en Madrid* (1631), *La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares* (1632) or *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas* (1642).

sexuality. Homi Bhabha connects the stereotype directly to the concept of fixity when representing otherness. When those markers of difference remain unchanged through time, the stereotype becomes fixed, not allowing the other to change. At the same time, the stereotype exhibits an ambivalent nature: even though the *morisca* is believed to be licentious, it is necessary to repeat the stereotype in order for it to be proved (Bhabha 94-95). The stereotype locks the other within the parameters of a certain representation, and it repeats this representation constantly in order for it to be recognized as such.

The three *pícaras* that comprise this study, Lozana, Justina and Elena, are constructed within the parameters of the stereotype. All three of them are of mixed origins. *La Lozana Andaluza* (1528) tells the adventures of Aldonza/Lozana/Vellida, a woman of *converso* origins who becomes a prostitute in the slums of Rome. Although Aldonza seems to be of Jewish origin, making her home in the Jewish quarters of Rome, a lot of her cooking, clothing, spells and potions seem to be of Moorish origin, as indicated in the study done by María Remedios Fortes Ruiz. Fortes Ruiz elucidates in her article "Saberes y costumbres de las mujeres a través de *La Lozana andaluza*" the hybrid origins of Lozana's knowledge, which includes, not only Jewish traditions, but also Moorish. The character of Lozana is constructed as exotic/orientalized due to the many markers of difference used to describe her. As Lozana herself says: "Con los cristianos soy cristiana y con los jodíos, jodía, y con los turcos, turca, y con los hidalgos, hidalga, y con los ginoveses, ginovesa" (87). Lozana is able to shift from one group to the other, and most importantly, she is able to accommodate to their customs and traditions, becoming one of them. Lozana sells herself making use of her exotic origins, both as a minority hailing from Al-Andalus, and as a Spaniard living in Rome. Her knowledge of

oriental spells, or "magia de Levante" (90), as she herself calls it, soon help her gain renown and respect in the slums of Rome, where she becomes one of the best paid prostitutes. Lozana's success could be better understood if we keep in mind that "[w]omen, who had few ways of earning a living, sometimes worked in brothels where moriscas and *moras de allende* (foreign Muslims) were especially valued for their knowledge of spells" (Perry, "Veil" 46). Lozana would be this "mora de allende" who brings new knowledge into the Roman community.

Lozana's sexuality is one of the central themes of the book. Lozana shows from a very young age a desire for sexual intimacy and an interest in the opposite sex, as she proudly announces: "yo apetito tengo desde que nací, sin ajo y queso que podría prestar a mis vecinas" (104-105). The appetite Lozana makes reference to is her sexual desire. As the story progresses, the writing reveals a woman who is sure of what she wants and who is capable of enjoying her sexual encounters with her clients, especially with her lover/partner Rampín. It is difficult not to see the correspondence between Lozana and Jarifa. Although the context in which Lozana moves is not the idealized frontier territory of *El Abencerraje,* but the slums of Rome, there is a similarity in both women's behavior, as they take the initiative in the matters of sexuality.

Another female picaresque work that presents a *conversa* who also happens to be a prostitute is *La pícara Justina* (1605). Justina's origins are put into question from the very beginning, as Justina exposes her genealogy: "De aquí colegirás, lector cristiano, y aunque seas moro colegirás lo mismo, que, siendo mi padre natural del castillo y condado de Luna, puede decir la pícara Justina que de parte de padre es lunática" (53). The moon, of course, is identified with the Muslim world, and Justina does point out that both a

Christian and a Moor will understand what she is talking about, referencing her hybrid origin. Of her mother she says that she is of a better-known Christian family, implying again the "cristiano nuevo" origins of her father (55). There has been some discussion as to whether Justina tricked men into thinking they would be getting her sexual favors, but didn't (Friedman 93), or if they actually did (Zafra 84). I believe that Justina did exercise prostitution to the fullest, as exemplified by the fact that she suffers from syphilis. There are various references made by Justina about hair loss (one of the telltale signs of syphilis) in the very first chapter of the book, even calling herself "pelona" and mocking her own lack of hair (29). Justina is also represented as a woman of Orientalized features, as her description demonstrates: "Justina fue mujer […] de buen cuerpo, talle y brío; ojos zarcos, pelinegra, nariz aguileña y color moreno" (24). Her physical description contains elements that are markers of a mixed heritage: the dark skin, the distinctiveness of the nose, the peculiar colored eyes. She also makes reference to the ability that allows her to make herself pass for other women of different characteristics, as did Lozana: "estaba en mi mano ser blanca o negra, morena o rubia, alegre o triste, hermosa o fea" (33). Justina is able to subvert other's perceptions of her ethnic origin because she doesn't fit in either group, and as a hybrid/exotic woman she is able to move amongst both groups.

As for her sexuality, Justina claims to be a virgin when she marries for the first time, and yet she finds the need to prevent any possible questioning of her virtue: "Yo bien sabía mi entereza y que mi virginidad daría de sí la señal honrosa, esmaltando con corrientes rubíes la blanca plata de las sábanas nupciales; pero sabiendo algunos engaños y malas suertes que han sucedido a mozas honradas, me previne" (247). Her words do

not communicate what would be expected of a blushing bride, rather they show the pragmatic personality of Justina, while implying the very real possibility that she is not a virgin after all. Her mixed origins make her a target for sexualizing her due to the stereotypes existent on *moriscas* and sexuality.

La hija de Celestina (1612) is the only one of these three accounts told in third person. However, in one moment, the *pícara* Elena is given a voice and she is able to tell her story (albeit under the control of the narrator). Just as in the case of Lozana and Justina, Elena's origins are hybrid, as she explains: "Mi padre se llamó Alonso Rodríguez, gallego en la sangre y en el oficio lacayo […] Mi madre fue natural del Granada y con señales en el rostro" (106-107). Her mother, a slave as noted by the marks on her face, is a Moorish woman who is accused of witchcraft, accusations quite common towards moriscas and *conversas* during the Early Modern period (Perry, "Veil" 46). Elena is also described as extremely beautiful, and her description has exotic touches to it: "eran sus ojos negros, rasgados, valentones y delincuentes" (85). Her "delinquent" eyes inform the reader of Elena's deviance, but this description also implies the power of her beauty, a beauty that may even turn righteous behavior into deviant due to the temptation she represents. The references to her unusual beauty are many. As a matter of fact, she is so beautiful that she is able to distract a noble, don Sancho, on the very day of his wedding to a "perfecta casada."

Just like Lozana and Justina, Elena uses her sexuality for monetary gain, and is able to create for her and for her husband Montúfar a comfortable, luxurious life in the court in Madrid. She becomes a courtesan and in Madrid she entertains a variety of wealthy men, with her husband's blessing. However, when she becomes enamored of a

"mozuelo inútil" (151), Montúfar becomes violent and after beating her, Elena promises revenge. This episode shows, first of all, that Elena does not have sexual encounters based solely on money. She is able to pick a man whom she finds attractive and initiate a relationship with him. After her husband's beating, Elena poisons him, while her lover stabs him in the heart. Elena's punishment by the law is severe: she is hanged, and her dead body is put in a barrel and thrown into the Manzanares river. Elena's end contrasts with Lozana's and Justina's. While Lozana escapes the Sack of Rome and Justina marries a famous *pícaro* and goes to the Court to become a courtesan (her lifelong dream), Elena is killed by the law. Elena's tragic end perhaps reflects that shift of the treatment of the Moor that the Counter Reformation and harsher laws brought to Spain, as explained by Darst. Elena, a promiscuous *morisca*, according to Counter Reform law, deserves her punishment.

As previously mentioned, these three women are constructed according to the stereotype of the "other woman" in their blatant sexuality, most obviously exemplified by their occupation as prostitutes and their apparent enjoyment of it. They also share, besides their hybrid origins, an exceptional beauty that is used to exoticize them and to make them alluring. This exceptional beauty would fit Bhabha's articulation of "otherness" as both "an object of desire and derision, [and] an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity" (96). When these three *pícaras* are represented as beautiful, they become the object of desire. However, their occupation as prostitutes mitigates their initial appeal: they are, after all, bodies to be consumed, utilized and disregarded. Finally, their marked difference racializes them and separates them from the predominant Christian culture. Therefore, the identity of the virtuous

Christian woman is reinforced because the exotic other, represented by these three *pícaras*, is everything that the virtuous Christian woman is not.

Hybridity is one of the traits (besides wit or "ingenio") that allows these three women to adapt to their surroundings and be successful (always within the constraints of their sex) in their endeavors. If we have in mind Gloria Anzaldúa's depiction of *el atravesado* as those who are trapped in a borderland between cultures, it can be concluded that the hybrid person is in a liminal state, caught between worlds. This liminal state allows the hybrid woman to negotiate her identity as she moves from place to place. Gilroy explains that "the desire to fix identity in the body is inevitably frustrated by the body's refusal to disclose the required signs of absolute incompatibility people imagine to be located there" (Gilroy 104). The body gives the wrong signs, and the one who perceives these signs interprets them according to his or her own experience. Lozana can make herself pass as "others" according to her needs and circumstances. The same holds true of Justina, or Elena who, regardless of her *morisca* blood makes herself pass for a pious Christian woman of "blanca mano" (99).

Francisco Delicado, López de Úbeda and Alonso de Salas Barbadillo portray their protagonists as Orientalized prostitutes. As they put into practice this perspective and this construction of the *pícara*, they take advantage of stereotypes and misconceptions about the Muslim and Jewish community. All three of these *pícaras*/prostitutes are hybrid, beautiful (even Lozana with her corroded nose due to syphilis holds certain attractiveness to those who meet her), and constructed as the exotic woman. They are everything that the Christian woman or the "perfecta casada" is not. There is a tradition in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish literature of maurophilic and maurophobic feelings toward Spain's

ethnic minorities. I believe that in the female picaresque novel, the authors take advantage of the feelings existent in the Christian imaginary in order to construct a *pícara* who they will be able to objectify (due to maurophilia) and to exploit without fear of reprimand (due to maurophobia). *Moriscas* and *conversas* alike become the essence of the *pícara*/prostitute, allowing the author a range of topics that otherwise wouldn't have been possible had the prostitute been a Christian woman. It is, after all, expected, even compulsory, that the Orientalized woman should behave in a manner discordant to Christian mores.

CHAPTER II

MAGIA DE LEVANTE: EXOTICISM, SEXUALITY AND THE BODY IN *LA LOZANA ANDALUZA*

La Lozana andaluza, written in 1528 by Francisco Delicado, is included within the female picaresque novel genre.[39] Although written a few years before the first official picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), *La Lozana andaluza* exhibits proto-picaresque traits such as the representation of the lower classes, biographical perspective (although not autobiographical), and the monetary self-improvement of the roguish protagonist. Delicado's work focuses on the adventures and misadventures of the protagonist, Lozana during her travels throughout the Mediterranean and her final destination as a prostitute in Rome, where she finds a place among the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco. Because the main action of the work occurs within this specific spatial context, *La Lozana andaluza* gives a glimpse into the underground world of the marginal social classes of sixteenth century Rome, especially concentrating on the world of prostitution. Delicado's work is framed precisely within the Jewish areas or ghettos of the city, and includes a detailed, colorful description of the many characters that dwell in

[39] For many years, *La lozana andaluza* has remained unknown to the public due to the difficulty of finding a print edition of this work. It has also been relegated to a "second class" literary work status. Important critics such as Menéndez y Pelayo have qualified Delicado's *Lozana* as a tasteless piece of pornography, with no significance or contribution to Spanish literature (Costa Fontes 186). More recently, however, there has been a revisiting of Delicado's work and the great majority of literary studies on picaresque female novel include *La lozana andaluza* as one of the most relevant pieces of literature within the genre.

these communities. This depiction allows the reader to observe the living conditions and the relations among Jews and *conversos* who had been expelled or had exiled themselves from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and the following years. [40] The community of Pozo Blanco is also a micro-representation of the consequences for Judaic communities of this forced exile and diaspora into other areas of Europe and the Mediterranean. Within this sociocultural frame, the cordovan Lozana, a *conversa* herself, utilizes her celestinesque talents, as well as her body in order to prosper in this marginal section of Roman society. In order to survive, Lozana exploits her own exotic image: her travels in the lands of the Levant, the Middle-East, have given her a knowledge that Occidental Europe does not possess, knowledge that Lozana uses to attract the curiosity of potential clients and consequently to achieve material gain and social stability. Lozana's knowledge appears to be harmless: she concocts cosmetics, assembles medical remedies and helps women in their various ailments, as well as retaining their beauty. By providing these women, many of them prostitutes, with these cosmetics and remedies, Lozana is subverting societal values in that she uses her knowledge to conceal a woman's true appearance. Prostitution was a short-lived career that left most prostitutes destitute in their old age. Lozana is able to give the prostitute that which she needs the most: beauty and the appearance of health and youth. Lozana is able to earn enough money to procure herself a comfortable living, in part precisely because she lives in Rome, known for its many prostitutes and directly associated with prostitution (Zafra 120). Lozana also carries

[40] *Converso* usually makes reference to a Jew converted to Christianity. *Conversos* are also referred to as New Christians (*cristianos nuevos*), and in recent socio-historical studies, as crypto-Jews. The term New Christian stands in opposition to the term Old Christian. Iberian Christian society emphasized cleanliness of blood (by showing proof of a genealogy free of Muslim or Jewish ancestors) and New Christians suffered in many cases persecution and scrutiny due to their Oriental origins.

within her racial and cultural markers that label her as a Spaniard, but more concretely as Andalusian, which carries the allure of the exotic due to the hybridization of this particular area in the Iberian Peninsula. She takes advantage of these perceptions and utilizes them to enhance her appeal.

I will demonstrate how Lozana benefits from the stereotypes of the exotic other in order to construct an attractive and alluring self in the eyes of Western Europe. Desire is a dual force in *La Lozana andaluza*. Lozana desires and is desired, she is both active subject and object, which sets her apart from the idealized *cristiana* who is usually objectified. Jacqueline Rose explains how within lacanian theory on desire and the Other, the Other is desired precisely because it represents what the subject is lacking. Within this dynamic, the woman "belongs on the side of the Other […] for in so far as jouissance is defined as phallic so she might be said to belong somewhere else" (51). Her place on the side of the Other questions the capability of the woman as a "desiring subject" (Rose 51). According to Lacan, there is no "Other of the Other" (Rose 50). If this is so, then the woman has no Other to desire. Lozana, however, shows enjoyment during the sexual act as well as sexual desire and appetite, which constructs her as a subject with a voice of her own: she is capable of desiring. But, Lozana, as a woman, cannot escape the masculine gaze and she elicits desire, in part because of her blatant otherness: "[the] cause of desire and support of male fantasy gets transposed onto the image of the woman as Other who then acts as its guarantee" (Rose 50). Lozana is Other at two levels, firstly as a woman, and secondly as an ethnic minority. This explains the fact that most men (and even women) who come in contact with her desire her

immediately, emphasizing her as an object, even though she herself is capable of expressing and showing desire.

I will also show how Delicado takes advantage of both maurophilic and maurophobic perceptions of the exotic other when portraying his main protagonist. There is an intended emphasis on Lozana's attractiveness which is intrinsically tied to her origin. Lozana sells herself as "exotic" because this label gives her an edge that other Roman prostitutes do not possess. Her mixed origins, her beauty and her travels set her apart from other women. She is desired precisely because of her difference from other prostitutes. Not only is she Other to man, but also to other women, prostitutes and non-prostitutes alike. Lozana manages to establish herself solidly in marginal Roman society and achieves a position of influence and popularity within the slums of Rome, even successfully avoiding the destruction of the city. Furthermore, Lozana not only takes advantage of her knowledge of the "magic of Levant," that magic that transforms, changes and reconstructs the feminine body, but she also uses her own body and language to achieve her financial goals, to meet the needs of her sexuality, and to become a central and essential figure in the Jewish quarters. However, Lozana is rejected in that she dedicates herself to a marginalized profession. Through prostitution and the making of cosmetics, Lozana endangers society's moral values. This trait emphasizes the lasciviousness associated with the Orientalized woman, drawing directly from those maurophobic tendencies embedded in the Christian imaginary.

Language, the exotic stereotype, and the body become the three tools with which Lozana subverts the expected fate of a courtesan in the marginal Rome of the sixteenth century. Prostitutes in their old age suffered poverty and the physical consequences of

venereal diseases, and most of them ended up begging in the streets (Zafra 132). Lozana's elocuence, her freedom of movement and her sexual desire stand in direct opposition to the idea of the chaste, virtuous Christian woman. While women during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period were considered frail, weak, and a flawed version of men, Lozana is a contradiction to this essentialization of femininity: she is brazen, outspoken, strong and sure of herself. She is a social survivor who shows no qualms to do whatever is needed in order to live, prosper and, in the end, successfully avoid destitution and death during the sack of Rome in 1527.

Beyond Lozana's individual struggle for survival we can also read a broader cultural struggle for survival. Due to the *converso* roots of Francisco Delicado, Lozana's implied Jewishness and her direct link to the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco, we can interpret this book as an imagined representation of the Sephardic communities and individuals who were expelled and/or exiled from the Iberian Peninsula.[41] Lozana is a symbol of the Jewish diaspora, an archetype that reflects the hardships and fate of the Jewish communities that had once prospered in the Iberian Peninsula. She mirrors the Jewishness of the Spaniard, a Jewishness that is rejected and exorcised in order to create a nation free of hybrid tendencies and customs. In the end, she prevails precisely because she adapts to the situation and her mixed ancestry becomes the means by which she can (re)invent her identity. I will focus in this chapter on Lozana's efforts for social survival, both within her cultural background as ethnic minority and as a marginalized *pícara*.

La Lozana andaluza, following a quasi-picaresque format which will develop fully with *Lazarillo de Tormes* a few years later, opens the narration with an exposition of

[41] Sepharad was the name given to the Iberian Peninsula by the Jews who inhabited it. Sephardic makes specific reference to the Spanish Jews.

the origins of the beautiful heroine, Aldonza, who later on will change her name to Lozana. The work is quasi-picaresque in that the protagonist does not address the reader directly following an autobiographical format, but Lozana's story is told in a series of dialogued scenes. Due to the use of dialogue, Lozana's voice arrives to the reader directly, giving the impression of hearing her textually. Each scene is commented at the beginning by the masculine voice of the narrator, but without offering judgmental remarks about Lozana's behavior. According to the masculine narrative voice, Aldonza is "compatriota de Séneca" (69), that is, she hails from the city of Cordova. During her childhood, she travels within Spain, and her travels are always limited to enclaves situated in a specific geographical space: the South of the Iberian Peninsula, Andalusia. Among the mentioned cities, we find Granada, Seville and Cordova, epicenters of *Morisco* and crypto-Jewish communities at the time of the writing of this work, 1528. Aldonza's birthplace, Cordova, as well as the various cities visited with her mother, insinuate from the very beginning of the narration a very probable connection with the ethnic minorities of the sixteenth century Iberian Peninsula. Once her mother passes away, Aldonza travels to Seville to live with her aunt, who teaches her to cook (which will become later on one of her most distinctive skills). From the long list of different dishes Aldonza prepares, none of them contain any pork products, and it is even mentioned that turnips are cooked "sin tocino y con comino" (71). Of these dishes, María Remedios Fortes Ruiz explains that "tanto en las comidas, como en la ropa y en los cosméticos, está presente la influencia del mundo judío y morisco […] También se habla de platos y formas de cocinar de los judíos" (7). As Fortes Ruiz explains, it is possible to observe in Lozana's cooking a mixture of Arab and Jewish influences. This mixture is to

be expected considering that Lozana is raised in Southern Spain, where the most constant contact between the three religions occurred. In the beginning of Lozana's biography, it is never specified if Aldonza is identified with the *Morisco* or the Jewish community, but it is clear thanks to the dishes she cooks that she belongs to an ethnic minority that does not consume pork. The cities mentioned and the gastronomical particularities of her cooking identify her from the very beginning with the ethnic groups that originate in the Middle-East and Northern Africa, and that lived in Southern Spain. Once she is in the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco, Lozana will be identified as Jew or crypto-Jew. Lozana's cooking techniques become a marker of her Jewish identity to other Jews and *conversos*.

Aldonza shows from a very early age wit and an awareness of her sexuality. While living with her aunt, she falls in love with Diomedes, an Italian merchant, and elopes with him. During their time together, they travel the Mediterranean in Diomedes' boat, have children, and there is a definite sense of happiness and respect between the couple. As a matter-of-fact, even though they don't marry, they swear vows to each other in proof of their love and fidelity: "suplicóla que se esforçasse a no dexarlo por otro hombre, que él se esforçaría a no tomar otra por muger que a ella" (75). When Diomedes tries to marry her legally, his father opposes the marriage. Aldonza, who is now known as Lozana, loses everything: her children, her lover and her financial security. Does the father oppose the marriage because she is of Jewish origin? Or does he oppose it because she has been Diomedes' mistress for years? Without any type of warning or explanation, Diomedes' father puts his son in prison and makes arrangements to have Lozana murdered. The only hint as to what reasons he might have had is the fact that Diomedes'

father had already had contact with Diomedes and Lozana's children, and he had sent spies who had informed him of Lozana's existence, and undoubtedly of her background (76). Diomedes, a rich merchant and probable heir to his family's fortune, would not be allowed to marry a *conversa*, but would be pushed into marrying someone equal to his status or for advancement of his status. Lozana's would-be assassin takes pity on her and allows her to live. She is abandoned on the coast close to Marseille, and thanks to her wit and hunger for survival, she makes it to Rome where she finds her place among the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco. In Rome she becomes a courtesan and meets Rampín, a teenage boy years younger than her, who will become her lover and partner for life. Later on, Lozana trades prostitution for the making of makeup and poultices, and she also utilizes her cooking skills learned from her aunt to make a living. Lozana is described as beautiful and fresh (hence the name Lozana), even after contracting syphilis and suffering from a facial deformity due to this disease. In her elder years, she escapes the sack of Rome with Rampín. By this time her name has changed again, now to Vellida, making reference to her old age, although the name also implies beauty (bella).

Although there isn't a direct reference to Lozana's hybrid origin, the implication of her new Christian blood is always present. Lozana never identifies herself directly as Jewish or of Jewish origins, but she is perceived as such by many of the characters that she encounters during her time in Rome. Lozana does not contest this perception, as a matter-of-fact, she does not comment on it whether to affirm or negate that she is indeed Jewish. When she is abandoned by her would-be assassin, the narrator says that, "Y sobre todo se daba de cabeçadas, de modo que se le siguió una gran alxaqueça, que fue causa que le veniese a la frente una estrella" (77). This star-shaped mark on Lozana's

forehead seems to occur because of her desperation upon seeing herself poor and alone, but the shape itself of the mark and the spatial context where it occurs have another significance. Of this mark, Manuel da Costa Fontes explains:

> Besides being a euphemism for a syphilitic lesion, the "star" that Lozana acquires by striking her head repeatedly at the end of the French episode refers to her Jewish ancestry. Lozana is a Christian but since, as we will see, she is also a conversa, the star of David will mark her for as long as she lives. (182)

There is no direct mention of syphilis, but as Costa Fontes elucidates, the appearance of this lesion during Aldonza's visit to France (the place where syphilis is believed to have originated) is a manifestation of the disease, also known as "el mal francés." Later on, the "star" will be perceived by others as a symptom of the malady, not as a scar resulting from a wound: "Llamaremos aquí un medico que la vea, que parece una estrellica" (80). One of Lozana's first acquaintances in Rome identifies the wound immediately as syphilis or "grañimón" (80), and Lozana's friend insists on calling a doctor to take a look at this star-shaped mark, recognizing that it might be more than just a simple wound on the forehead.

As it will be seen, all the evidence seems to point to Lozana as *conversa*, but Lozana herself never states openly a possible connection to the Jewish community. Instead, she takes advantage of the flexibility that her hybrid origin gives her. She is able to fit within the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco, but also to catch the eye of Diomedes, the Italian merchant. Her long-life partner, Rampín, is also a *converso*, but Lozana does business with clients from all over the Mediterranean world: she becomes what the client needs her to be. Lozana does identify herself as Andalusian and Spanish, but she herself never makes reference to her ethnicity. She is, however, very aware of her beauty and her allure. Her travels throughout the Mediterranean give her the

knowledge and the opportunity to present herself in a manner appealing to the Roman community: she makes reference to her own exoticism, and utilizes the stereotype in order to achieve her financial and material goals. Her avoidance of reference to her Jewish origins might very well be another trait that shows her capacity as survivor, in order to avoid a very real persecution.

The Jewish Diaspora: Authorial Experience in the Text

Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula dates back to the second century B.C. (López-Baralt 26). Educated, successful and hard-working, the Jews soon became an intricate part of Spanish society and lived both in Christian and Arab territories during the time of *La Reconquista*. When the shift of power occurred with the victory in Navas de Tolosa in 1212, and Christian territorial power surpassed that of the Arab presence in Spain, the need of the Spanish crown to convert those who did not belong to Christianity intensified. There were massive forced conversions at the end of the fourteenth century, and in 1492 the Catholic Monarchs expelled the Jews from Spain (Costa Fontes 22). The consequences to Spain were disastrous due to the active participation of the Jewish people in commerce and the economy, but the Catholic Monarchs were convinced that a homogenous Christian faith in Iberia was the main priority:

> Clearly, the main motive for the expulsion was religious, and Isabella and Ferdinand agreed with each other, as usual. In a letter sent to the Count of Aranda, Ferdinand explained that their only motive was a question of faith, and that he realized that there would be significant financial consequences for the crown. (Costa Fontes 29)

Religious unity was more important for the Catholic monarchs than financial security. Ferdinand recognizes the economic repercussions of the forced expulsions and the dire

straits that these expulsions might produce in the relatively new nation (Spain was officially formed with the marriage of Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon in the year 1469).

The Jews who stayed behind and converted to Christianity suffered constant scrutiny and lived in fear of being denounced to the Inquisition by their neighbors. Many of them were relocated by the authorities, in order to avoid contact with other New Christians and with old friends who might help them or overlook their religious practices. Among the newly converted Jews, those who had exceptional financial resources were able to forge genealogies with Christian ancestry and to procure themselves a spot in the Spanish upper classes. Those who did not were the ones who suffered the most, many of them turning to the Church and becoming part of its clergy (Costa Fontes 28).

Women were especially under scrutiny since they were the ones who had the means to transmit cultural customs and to communicate the dogma of their native faith because of their role in the private space of the home as nurturers and being responsible for the upbringing of their children. This situation is very similar to the situation of the *moriscas,* who were also scrutinized because they stayed in the home, running their households and caring for their children. Mary Elizabeth Perry explains that the *moriscas* are the ones who "subverted Christian policies by preserving in their homes the language, rites, and customs of their people" ("Veil" 38). The same situation occurs within the Jewish community. The woman becomes a vehicle in cultural transmission, and passes her knowledge to her children. The daughters will pass this knowledge to the next generation. Even today, songs based on the *Romancero sefardí* have survived in old Spanish thanks to the passing of knowledge from generation to generation (Gamboa).

The situation of the crypto-Jews and the *moriscos* was similar in many ways: exile, relocation and the role of women in the transmission of culture and religious dogma. *Moriscas* were also frowned upon and mistrusted because they were suspected of maintaining their old traditions within the home.

The author of *La Lozana andaluza*, Francisco Delicado, was a convert himself, and it is believed that he was exiled in Italy when he published this work. Although it is difficult to gauge how much his experiences influenced his literary production, the similarities between Lozana and Delicado himself are too great to ignore. Francisco Delicado was born in Cordova in the latter decades of the fifteenth century (Damiani 13). Of his *converso* origins, research on Delicado's ancestry clarifies that "from the evidence at hand there is good indication that Delicado and his family were originally Jews who later became conversos […], a likelihood made plausible by his profound knowledge of their life and customs" (Damiani 13). Born only a few years before the final expulsion of the Jews in 1492, Delicado lived within a threatened and scrutinized community of Jewish converts. Even though he studied theology and received the Holy Orders, his situation as a convert to Christianity was precarious enough to suggest exile: "Delicado joined the massive exodus of many of his compatriots to Italy and established himself in Rome, where he remained until 1528" (Damiani 14). In Italy, Delicado is exposed to both the fine arts and the collaborations between Spaniards and Italians during the Renaissance period, but he is also in contact with the marginal communities of the city of Rome, such as pimps and prostitutes. During his stay in Rome he contracts syphilis and resides for a time at a syphilitic hospital, even writing medical handbooks about the disease (Wolfenzon 115).

Lozana is also born in Cordova, probably about the same time as Delicado. Lozana is also a New Christian or convert from Judaism to Christianity, as her affinity to Jewish culture and practice of Jewish customs demonstrates. Lozana is "exiled," although not apparently because of religious reasons, but because of abandonment. She suffers from syphilis. The details with which Delicado describes the slums and the lives of those making ends meet in Rome's marginal areas point to the fact that Delicado very probably visited those areas repeatedly. Delicado himself appears in the book, as one of Lozana's clients.

It would be tempting to create a direct connection between Delicado and his main protagonist. Delicado obviously draws on his own personal experience to fabricate Lozana's tale. However, it is necessary to have in mind the distinction between author and authorial voice:

> Even the novel in which no narrator is dramatized creates an implicit picture of an author who stands behind the scenes, whether as stage manager, a puppeteer, or as an indifferent God, silently paring his fingernails. This implied author is always distinct from the 'real man' who creates a superior version of himself, a 'second self,' as he creates his work. (Booth 151)

Delicado's actual presence in the book itself should not impress upon the reader that this is an autobiographical book rather than a work of fiction. However, because Delicado's experiences run parallel to Lozana's, it is necessary to consider them when studying Lozana's character and her own heritage. Costa Fontes explains that

> The fact that the author, Francisco Delicado, had a great deal in common with Lozana suggests that he created her as some sort of alter ego; perhaps Delicado felt that, in reality, he was also prostituting himself by living a life quite different from the one that he would have chosen for himself had he been given a choice. We know that he was a Catholic priest, and a syphilitic one at that. Moreover, contemporary society marginalized conversos as effectively as if they were prostitutes. (200)

Lozana's adventures are not an alter biography of Delicado, but they do contain references to Delicado's experiences as crypto-Jew, as dweller of the slums of Rome, and as a syphilitic patient. Furthermore, these experiences allow us to delve into Delicado's observations of contemporary society from the margins. By drawing on personal experience, Delicado not only exposes his own perceptions about his heritage, but also the perceptions that he believes others outside of his own culture have of Jews and *conversos*. Lozana is a representation of the fate of many exiled Jews and Delicado's first-hand experience is constantly in the background of the story. *La Lozana andaluza*'s subtitle is *Retrato de La Lozana andaluza*. Delicado does not limit himself to only write a portrait of Lozana, but he does connect Lozana with the Jewish community, placing her within a community of exiles, and capturing in the process a portrait of the Jewish exile. Delicado's experiences as both convert and exile give more weight to Lozana's character and allow for a more direct historical and cultural approach to the primary text.

But why would Delicado choose to re-create parts of his persona in a woman? I believe there are various explanations. By telling about his own personal stories and experiences through the representation of a woman, Delicado detaches himself more successfully from his own identity as man and, most importantly, from his profession as priest. Because Delicado had taken the Holy Orders, his escapades into the slums of Rome to participate of prostitution and other activities condemned by the Christian Church could very effectively affect his position. If Lozana had been a man, the connection between protagonist and author would have been more direct, and consequently retaliation might have been a possibility because the text would have been read as an autobiography. However, I believe that the main reason for Delicado's

portrayal of his protagonist as a woman is the advantage that a doubly-marginalized heroine gives him in the development of the story. Lozana has to overcome not only the obstacles produced by her perceived ethnicity, but also the obstacles produced by her gender, which heightens the interest of the story. Lozana also, by being an Orientalized woman, is construed as being a seductress and a temptress. This aspect gives him clearance to describe Lozana's sexual activities in detail because as an Orientalized woman, it is simply expected for her to behave lasciviously. Finally, as it will be seen, Lozana as a woman is also a representation of the nation, the diasporic Judaic nation in this case, and the symbolic implications of this interpretation send a desperate concealed message to the reader.

One of the central themes of *La Lozana andaluza* is the reality of venereal diseases among those men from upper classes who come in contact with the marginal classes, namely prostitutes and courtesans. Prostitutes and courtesans are portrayed as a commodity to be utilized, enjoyed and later forgotten about. One of Lozana's physical markers that set her apart from other prostitutes is the star that she has on her forehead. As mentioned, this star makes reference to her Jewish heritage (star of David), and to her chronic sickness, syphilis. Even though most prostitutes are carriers of the same disease, Lozana is the one whose sickness manifests through the shape of a star. Those who see Lozana identify her as Jew and as a carrier of sickness. Could Delicado be associating Judaism with sickness? One could well ask if the two are related. Delicado uses the disease as a metaphor of the perception that Christian Europe has of Jewish converts. This is a valid interpretation keeping in mind that Jews were expelled from most European nations, even before Spain expelled them in 1492 (López-Baralt 15). Christian

Europe sees Jews and converts as undesirables, as a disease that needs to be stopped and that cannot be allowed in a homogeneous Christian European nation. Lozana's face, both beautiful and yet marred by venereal disease is the portrait of that part of Spain that has contributed to enrich Spanish culture, but has been mistreated and marginalized. Delicado's portrait of Lozana declares the beauty of Judaic customs and culture, but also denounces the effect that marginalization and mistreatment has had among his people. *La Lozana andaluza* gives voice to a *conversa* prostitute who fights for survival and triumphs in the end, when many perish. Her individual struggle for survival is in reality a representation of a larger one: the struggle for survival of the Jewish diasporic community.

Delicado chooses a woman as a means of representing *converso* culture and his choice highlights the important role of the woman as a carrier of culture. Lozana is an example of such a woman, who cooks like a Jew and maintains traditions associated with the ethnic minorities of the Iberian Peninsula. However, Lozana is not a mother who transmits culture with strong ties in the community. Lozana, although she has children of her own, does not fulfill the role of transmitter of culture. As a matter of fact, she does not seem to possess a hint of motherly instinct toward her children. Of them, she tells Diomedes: "que no pienso en hijos, ni en otra cosa que dé fin a mi esperanza, sino en vos que sois aquélla" (76). Lozana does not see herself in a reproductive role, or as an essential part of a broader community, but she sees herself as Diomedes' lover and equal partner. There is an implication of the possible death of a whole culture due to the dire situation in which *conversos* find themselves. Lozana simply does her best to survive and to make material gain. The fate of her children is never clarified, and Lozana doesn't

show despair upon her separation from them, but it would be safe to assume that they are raised by Diomedes' father, and perhaps, they might have had contact with their own father once released from prison. Considering that Diomedes' father orders Lozana to be killed, it is safe to assume that he did not want Lozana, or any type of tradition, custom or cultural marker that would reference her in his grandchildren's lives. With the separation of Lozana from her children ends any possibility of her transmitting her culture to them.[42]

Delicado, through Lozana, paints a portrait of the fate of those *conversos* who are forced to leave their country: they are disseminated throughout the Mediterranean and the Americas. The only hope they have to maintain their culture and customs is to find communities of their own kind, in which they might be welcome. Lozana's motive to remain in the Pozo Blanco Jewish ghetto in Rome is not to maintain her customs. This is not, however, an idealized space. As Carolyn Wolfenzon explains: "El auctor agrupa a todos los conversos en un mismo espacio geográfico que es claustrofóbico, físicamente degradado, y ubicado en los márgenes de la ciudad" (116). Regardless of the marginality of this space, this is the only place where Lozana is able to find a sort of sanctuary and where she feels like she belongs precisely because its inhabitants are in the same situation in which that she finds herself. They are a diverse community built with Jews from everywhere in Europe. When Rampín shows her around the community, there is a clear indication of this diversity: "Vamos allá y vello hés. Esta es sinagoga de catalanes, y ésta de abaxo es de mujeres. Y allí son tudescos, y la otra françesses, y ésta de romanescos e italianos, que son los más neçios judíos que todas las otras naçiones, que tiran al gentílico y no saben su ley" (113). They are all Jewish and *conversos*, but they all hail from

[42] Later on, Lozana does have other children fathered by her clients. The children are mentioned in the book, but Lozana is not portrayed in an active role as mother. Once she escapes the sack of Rome, Rampín is mentioned as going with her, but there is no mention of her children.

different countries and regions. Their common religion and culture is Jewish, but their areas of origin are diverse.[43] There are Jews from Spain, from France and from Italy. It is the reality of the Semitic exile and diaspora. This reality results in a hybrid space where the diasporic subject finds common values and customs within the Jewish community, but at the same time, each subject brings to the community the values, languages and cultural markers of their home nations. The diasporic subject is hybrid in that he/she is marked both by the culture that he/she carries, and the new culture that he/she encounters: "Diasporic subjects are marked by hybridity and heterogeneity – cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national – and these subjects are defined by a traversal of the boundaries demarcating nation and diaspora" (Braziel and Mannur 5). In the case of the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco, there is a palpable hybridity in that the common denominator is Judaism, but the members of this community come from different nations, speak different languages and have been exposed to different forms of cultural expression. *La Lozana andaluza* reflects this hybridity in the usage of different languages: Spanish, Italian or Catalan, and also makes repeated reference to the rich diversity of its community. The inhabitants of Pozo Blanco find a place of relative safety in Rome, and this ghetto becomes a micro community representative of the Jewish people as a whole, but diverse in its hybridity nonetheless.

These diverse origins of the various inhabitants of Pozo Blanco make it necessary for them to reestablish and to rethink themselves as a diasporic community in Rome. Religion and cultural expression give this group of different people a sense of

[43] Most of them, however, were Spaniards: "Pozo Blanco was a district in the Parione area of Rome, seemingly very well-known and populated by Spaniards" (Damiani 49). The district was founded by Spanish cardinal Rodrigo Borja. He established a Spanish colony composed mainly of men, while "the women associated with these men led, for the most part, a licentious life" (Damiani 49). Pozo Blanco's beginnings make it later on one of the most libertine districts in Rome.

commonality, but Delicado makes also of syphilis a common factor in most of the inhabitants of Pozo Blanco. Syphilis becomes the mark that they carry and it serves to exacerbate the otherness of this community (Wolfenzon 115). The Judaic nation is represented in this moment in time through Delicado's portrait as both prospering thanks to commerce and networking, but also as "diseased" and carrying a mark that will always identify them as Other. As a matter of fact, he manipulates and exaggerates society's stereotypes about the Jewish people to criticize their treatment by Christian governments: "Delicado, al llevar al extreme esos estereotipos del judío, subraya lo absurdo de su caricatura y de la representación, y permite distinguir cómo ese constructo es tan fuerte en el imaginario colectivo que se extiende sin fronteras" (Wolfenzon 115). These stereotypes would include ties to witchcraft and the propagation of syphilis or interest in commerce and making money. The marginal nature of Pozo Blanco's main reason for existing (prostitution) accentuates the reality that the Jewish communities within it run the risk of being expelled sooner or later, as it had previously happened in their regions of origin. It is, basically, a community that is always on the verge of being displaced. Delicado also emphasizes through Lozana's experiences the necessity to have the support of the community in order to succeed. Lozana, without acquaintances that will accept her would not have the means to establish herself in Pozo Blanco.

Early in her arrival in Rome, Lozana lives with a group of Spanish women: "como daba señal de la tierra, halló luego quien la favoresció, y diéronle una cámara en compañía de unas buenas mugeres españolas" (78). She is given room and board because she is identified as Spanish, but regardless of their common origin, she soon has a petty fight with them. Although the reason for the fight is unclear, Lozana's Jewishness might

have been one of the causes: she is a new Christian, and consequently, unwanted and raising suspicion. This might be the case because once she leaves this group of Spanish women, Lozana arrives in Pozo Blanco and lives with a Napolitan woman who works as a beautician with her daughters and son: "tenía por oficio hazer solimán y blanduras y afeites y çerillas, y quitar çejas y afeitar novias" (78). This woman learns her skills and crafts from Jewish women: "lo que no sabían se lo hazían enseñar de las judías" (78). The family takes Lozana under its wing right away, teach her their craft and soon Lozana has more clients than they do: "en nuestros tiempos podemos dezir que no hay quien use el ofiçio mejor ni gane más que la señora Loçana, como abaxo diremos, que fue entre las otras como Avicena entre los médicos" (78). The fact that Lozana is able to live with the Napolitan woman, sympathetic and accepting of Jews, supports the probability that Lozana did not get along with the group of Spanish women because of her Jewish heritage.

It is in Pozo Blanco, among the Jewish community, that Lozana finds a relatively safe place to stay. Two of the first women she comes in contact with, Beatriz and Teresa, are suspicious of her at first and want to know if she is one of them: "No querría sino saber della si es confesa, porque hablaríamos sin miedo" (82). They conclude that even if they ask her directly, Lozana would make herself pass as Christian. They decide that the best way of knowing is by the ways she cooks certain dishes: "Digamos que queremos torcer hormigos o hazer alcuzcuçu, y si los sabe torcer, ahí veremos si es *de nobis*, y si los tuerçe con agua o con azeite" (82-83). Lozana passes the test and she is recognized as a *conversa* by the two women. It is not words (which can be manipulated) or religious

observances (which can be faked) that qualify her as Jewish: it is the cultural marker of cooking techniques, learned at home, that identify her as a crypto-Jew.

Lozana's job as a prostitute indicates the destitution suffered by the Spanish *conversos*. Obligated to leave their lands and to sell their goods at a fraction of their worth, *conversos* were left in poverty as they traveled to new lands. Lozana, an abandoned woman, only has one choice left in order to survive: selling her body. Lozana's situation can be construed as a denunciation of the Jewish/*converso* diaspora. Even though she is successful at what she does and gains a secured clientele, Lozana's situation is precarious. Although prostitution was perceived to be a necessary evil in Early Modern society, prostitutes had to deal with rivalry among them, pimps, venereal diseases and the eventual poverty that old age would bring them. The most morally damaging stigma, however, is that of the prostitute as sinner and seductress: "[el] legado de Eva como la gran seductora y seducida la señala como promotora del desorden sexual y chivo expiatorio de los males de la sociedad" (Zafra 50). The Jewish communities in Spain also became the scapegoats in times of difficulties. They were accused, for instance, of poisoning the water wells during the time of the Black Plague. These accusations were born out of jealousy and ignorance (Costa Fontes 2). Just like the Jews, the prostitute becomes the one to blame for social problems. Lozana is marginalized both because of her ethnic origin and her gender and occupation.

One of the results of the expulsion of the Jews was their relocation to other parts of Europe. These *conversos* had been in Spain for many generations and were Spaniards. They spoke Ladino (early Spanish mixed with Hebrew), and shared numerous cultural commonalities with Spanish Christians. As a result, "the overriding irony of the

Peninsular expulsion of Jews, of course, was the subsequent identification of Spaniards and Portuguese with Jews throughout Europe during the sixteenth century and beyond" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 119). The rest of Europe made the connection that Spain was trying to avoid at all costs: the perception of an exotic Spain with a mixed heritage. This ambiguity problematizes the fantasy of the nation: by exiling the Other outside of the nation, the Other becomes a representation of Spain in foreign lands. The purpose of the Spanish government backfires. Lozana is one of these diasporic *conversos* who becomes a representation of the Spaniard under the gaze of Western Europe. Her portrayal also raises questions about the idea of woman as a metaphoric representation of the nation. If she functions as a metaphor for the idea of nation, or motherland, then Delicado is presenting a subverted representation of the Spanish nation. Lozana is everything that Spain is trying to hide from the rest of Europe: its own mixed heritage. Besides being a representation of those exiled Jews and *conversos*, Lozana's story also brings to light the consequences of those expulsions. *Conversa*, prostitute and female, Lozana is a deformed representation of the fantasy of a country about to become a European power and an Empire. If Spain were to recognize the importance and give equal rights to its ethnic minorities, the fantasy of a homogenous Christian nation would be jeopardized. As Benedict Anderson remarks, "The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations" (7). Anderson theorizes about imagined communities within the frame of the modern nation, once the separation between church and state occurs in the eighteenth century. However, his approach to the finiteness of the nation applies to the situation of Spain that wants to present an image free of connections

with the Orient. Anderson continues by elucidating that "regardless of actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). Although these ethnic minorities are not given a voice or a part in the representation of Spain as nation, they still see themselves as Spanish, a reflection of that "horizontal comradeship" that Anderson associates with the concept of nation. Delicado draws from his own personal experiences as a *converso*, an exile and a syphilitic patient, but also as a Spaniard, to draw a representation of the racialized, marginalized side of the nation that the Spanish state is trying to ignore and hide in the eyes of the rest of Europe.

Lozana is a metaphor of the marginal within Spanish society, but as an Orientalized woman, she also stands in opposition to those characteristics deemed most important in virtuous Christian women: their silence, their enclosure in the home and their virtue. As Enriqueta Zafra elucidates: "La pícara, para ser pícara, necesita colocarse al margen de las restricciones que como mujer la sociedad aúrea le exige, esto es, silencio, castidad y obediencia" (18). Lozana is the exact opposite from these traits. Lozana is known for her wit and her quick tongue: she will speak her mind and through her speech, she is able to sell both her body and her talents. She also travels within Southern Spain during her childhood and teenage years, and later she travels the Mediterranean with her lover Diomedes. When she is left alone, she is the one who decides to go to Rome and establish herself in this city. Once established, she visits other houses in order to maintain her business: she receives men in her own house, but she also utilizes her knowledge of "magic" to help other courtesans and prostitutes. Among her talents is the removal of bodily hair: "Mejor se haze con vidrio sotil y muy Delgado, que

lleva el vello y haze mejor cara. Y luego un poco de olio de calabaça y agua de flor de habas a la veneciana, que haze una cara muy linda" (107). She works from house to house, entering other women's houses, helping them in their beauty routines. This part of her occupation is reminiscent of Celestina's: there is no house that closes its doors to her. Even though she is recognized as a subversive element, she is allowed into private spaces. She learns how to concoct beauty products and consequently, subverts again societal appearances by helping other prostitutes to hide under make-ups and wigs. One of the great warnings of Joan Lluis Vives and Fray Luis de León in their moralizing works is utilizing cosmetics, which they qualify to be a form of vanity and of dirtying the face and the soul. As Georgina Dopico Black explains, "the manuals for wives generally repudiate all forms of wifely mutability; the greatest threat of make-up […] is precisely that it empowers women with the ability to remake themselves as something 'other' than what they truly are" (14). Lozana, by providing women with the tools to change themselves, is, effectively, subverting patriarchal society. Finally, Lozana exhibits sexual desire. There is no question that Lozana makes the most of her sexuality: she enjoys the sexual act, she picks her own lover/partner/pimp, a teenage boy younger than she is, and she proclaims her sexual appetite as something natural and desirable. She is not only desired: she actively desires and enjoys the sexual act as much as men do.

These characteristics set Lozana apart from the idealized version of the Christian woman. Even transgressing *cristianas* in literary production do not exhibit such exuberant traits, and there is no graphic description of sexual acts or sexuality in general.[44] While Lozana's sexual activities are described in graphic detail, the

[44] The characteristics of the transgressing *cristiana* in Early Modern theater are analyzed and contextualized in Chapter 1.

transgressing *cristiana* most of the time comes across as a woman in love whose actions are put into motion because of her desire to marry her lover. Such are the cases of Leonor in *Valor, agravio y mujer* by Ana Caro, or Doña Angela in *La dama duende* by Calderón de la Barca. The transgressing *cristiana* in Early Modern literature breaks patriarchal rules: she speaks for herself, she leaves the so-called safety of the home, and she exhibits desire in her pursuing of her lover. She is forced, however, to do these under disguise, covering her body in order to not be recognized in the street. In the end, her ruse is exposed. She is bound to the patriarchal order in that, once discovered, her only hope is that her lover will be willing to marry her. Her fate is always in the hands of the men who surround her: father, brothers, and lover. Lozana's construction as a racialized prostitute allows Delicado to exaggerate her subversive traits. Not needing to have in mind the decorum that the Christian woman was required to maintain (let us not forget that Delicado himself was a priest), the authorial voice becomes freer to explore Lozana's behavior. Lozana's actions are more graphic, more embellished and more transgressing because the protagonist is, after all, "only" a *conversa* and consequently without honor or worth in society. Because of her mixed heritage, Lozana's behavior is expected to be deviant and non-Christian. This heritage gives the authorial voice the freedom to do as he wishes with his heroine, and the freedom that, perhaps, he wishes himself to have. The characteristics that best exemplify this direct contrast between the Christian woman and the racialized prostitute are eloquence and freedom of movement, the commodification of the body and sexuality.[45] These traits will be explored in detail in the

[45] It could be argued that arranged marriages, so common at this point in time, could be construed as a form of commodification of the body. The difference is that the arranged marriage is accepted in a hierarchal society, while the commodification of the prostitute's body is not. In her book *Prostituidas por el texto*, Zafra explains how the government tried to regulate prostitution by establishing houses for prostitutes.

following sections, along with how Lozana "sells" herself as different from other prostitutes by drawing from the imagined Orient that Christian Europe utilizes to define itself, yet at the same time it is fascinated with.

Magia de Levante: Selling the Exotic

When she arrives into the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco, Lozana introduces herself to these communities as an exotic, alluring woman, and she does this through language: "Yo, señora, vengo de Levante y traigo secretos maravillosos, que, máxime en Grecia, se usan mucho las mujeres que no son hermosas procurar de sello y, porque lo veáis, póngase aquesto vuestra hija la más morena" (90). Lozana mentions how she can even go as far as to change what would be considered racial markers, as she tells the Napolitan woman to bring to her her darkest-skinned daughter in order to work her magic. Through her magic, Lozana is able to subvert even the readability of race. Lozana realizes the appeal and the allure that her experiences in the Mediterranean have for the people in Rome early on, when upon mentioning her travels, one of her first acquaintances exclaims: "¿Que sois estada en Levante? ¡Por mi vida, yo pensé que veníades de Génova!" (81). The reaction of this woman unveils to Lozana the fascination that her travels and the knowledge that she has learned in the Middle-East raises. Once she meets Rampín, he also realizes the implications and potential of this knowledge:

> No vezéis a ninguna lo que sabéis; guardadlo para cuando lo habréis menester, y si no viene vuestro marido, podréis vos ganar la vida, que yo diré a todas que sabéis más que mi madre. Y si queréis que esté con vos, os iré a vender lo que hiziéredes, y os pregonaré que traéis secretos de Levante. (109)

However, regardless of regulations, prostitutes still operated on their own, in the margins of a hierarchal patriarchal society.

Rampín tells Lozana to keep the secrets of her knowledge to herself. He also volunteers to be the one to "sell" her services to others. He immediately realizes the attractiveness that this Andalusian woman, who is well-travelled and brings with her the secrets and the magic of the Levant will have among his community. Especially for the Pozo Blanco community, the Levant suggests the romanticized place of their origin. This might very well be another factor in their attraction to Lozana.

The ease with which Lozana integrates herself in this Jewish community might seem surprising because, regardless of her declarations regarding her knowledge of the magic from the Levant, Lozana does not present factual proof of belonging to these communities. She charms her audience with her words and her beauty. Is she really considered a part of these communities or is she perceived as an "other"? Lozana might not say directly that she is a *conversa,* but her body allows the community in Pozo Blanco to legibly recognize the signs that mark her as a crypto-Jew. They perceive her as someone who belongs with them. Because of the fact that she is a woman of mixed ethnicity, Lozana is able to fluidly negotiate her identity and enter without any difficulties in the Roman marginal world of minority ethnicities. She is even able to prosper and make a name for herself due to her capacity of moving between worlds.

The beauty of Lozana's body plays an essential role in her own exoticization. There is a direct relation between Al-Andalus/Spain and the physical beauty of the woman. Lozana is beautiful and desirable because she is Andalusian. Even before seeing her, potential clients know that she is beautiful because of her origin: "¡Oh, pese a tal con la puta, y qué linda debe de ser!" (123), exclaims one of them. When we take into consideration the hybrid factors that characterize this part of Spain, it is obvious that

Lozana's beauty is a product of the exotism that surrounds the Andalusian area: Lozana is different from other prostitutes precisely because of this. As a matter of fact, it can be concluded that Lozana, when manipulating her mixed ethnic origin and defining herself as an exotic being, stereotypes herself in order to establish her own business as courtesan and prostitute. Bhabha presents the stereotype of the colonized as a negative construction due to its inflexible and essentialized characteristics, while being fixed within hermetic parameters: "[The stereotype] is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference, constitutes a problem for the representation of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations" (107). Because of her hybrid origin, her travels throughout the Middle-East, and her exotic beauty, Lozana achieves the successful manipulation of the fixed stereotype in the Christian imaginary in order to advance economically in Roman society, even if in the end, she must flee the city. Lozana, like other "exotic women" in literary production before her, is beautiful, intelligent, speaks her mind, and most importantly, she is sexually active. These traits are repeated over and over again. The references to Lozana's beauty are continuous, she communicates eloquently, and she shows over and over again that she indeed actively participates in the sexual act. She sells her body, shows her beauty, and becomes an important figure in the Jewish quarters. Regardless of her facial disfiguration due to syphilis, Lozana is a desirable, exoticized being, gaining the attraction and the curiosity of those that surround her and that wish to know her. As Jennifer Cooley elucidates: "Se ve en Lozana un continuo juego entre la atracción y la repulsión, sin ninguna posibilidad de aclarar la esencia de su ser" ("De *La Lozana*" 154). This ambivalent game between beauty and ugliness makes of Lozana a mistery and a mirror

that reflects positive and negative aspects of the emergent Spanish Empire. In terms of culture and religious background, she is a representation of everything that Spain is trying to excise from its midst: Jews and even communities of *conversos*. Regardless of the many rich contributions of Jewish culture to Spain, the Spanish state only sees these communities as a negative influence, and they are forced into exile (Menocal 248). In terms of gender, Lozana is everything that the Christian woman should not be. Lozana is constructed as a direct opposition to all the values that the Spanish nation is upholding in search for a new European identity. She is that which Spain *should* not be.

The ambivalent play between beauty and ugliness, attraction and repulsion also echoes the maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies found in Iberian cultural production and in the perceptions of Spanish society when faced with the exotic other. The attraction to Lozana, whether physical or intellectual, is an attraction that can be construed as bordering on exaggeration: it simply seems too good to be true. This attraction is reminiscent of those maurophilic tendencies found in Spanish literature, in which the exotic other is represented in such positive terms that it is impossible not to feel a natural attraction to him/her. However, the attraction to Lozana is offset by the repulsion and laughter produced by her maimed face/lack of nose. The not-so-pleasant traits of her physical aspect, paired up with her profession as prostitute and the probable consequent condemnation of her activities are reminiscent of maurophobia. Regardless of the allure with which Lozana is portrayed, there is no mistaking that she exhibits other traits associated with maurophobia: lasciviousness, greed, disease in the form of syphilis, and connections to witchcraft in that she concocts beauty products to change one's identity. As an Orientalized woman, Lozana, like Jarifa or like the young women in the

Jarchas, has a strong voice and a linguistic ability that from a Christian perspective may be deemed dangerous in a woman. This is another negative trait that can be included in the maurophobic tendency to portray the exotic other as an undesirable presence in Spanish/Christian society.

Aldonza/Lozana/Vellida: Eloquence and Wit

During the years of the Renaissance and later on, there were numerous manuals of conduct for women circulating by authors such as Joan Lluis Vives or Fray Luis de León. In these treatises, the role of the woman was defined in detail, from the care of children to her duty to her husband. Two of the most sought-after characteristics in the woman were silence and restriction of movement in public spaces. Silence is humble, silence is holy. Silence is also desired in those who are believed to have a lower intellect than men. Women fall in this category, thus are asked not to speak because anything they say is, after all, of no consequence. Fray Luis de León says that "el estado de la mujer, en comparación del marido, es estando humilde, y es como dote natural de las mujeres la mesura y vergüenza, y ninguna cosa hay que se compadezca menos, o se desdiga más de lo humilde y vergonzoso, que lo hablador y lo parlero" (125). Fray Luis de León, as did many other humanists, believed that because the woman was lacking in intellect, nothing that she could say could be of value. Thus silence and humbleness, especially when in presence of the husband, were a necessary virtue in women. This essentialization of women also includes her enclosure in the private space of the home. Although it is true that marriage somewhat liberated women in that they were freer to go as they wished (to church, or to visit friends or relatives), their ideal space belonged in the privacy of the

home. This description of the virtuous married woman contrasts drastically with the one offered of Lozana in Delicado's work by one of her potential clients:

> Esta Lozana es mujer sagaz y ha bien mirado todo lo que pasan las mugeres en esta tierra, que son sujetas a tres cosas: a la pinsión de la casa y a la gola y al mal que después les viene de Nápoles. Por tanto, se ayudan cuando pueden con ingenio, y por esto ésta quiere ser libre [...] y tiene tal labia que sabe quién es el tal que viene allí. (141)

Although most people who come in contact with Lozana first see her beauty, this "compañero," friends with the "autor," highlights first of all Lozana's intelligence. He then mentions how her wit helps her survive in a place where women (he uses the word "muger," but he is in reality referring to prostitutes) encounter various challenges. These challenges are: the payment of their lodging, avarice or gluttony, and the danger of contracting a venereal disease, referred to as "el mal de Nápoles" or syphilis. The quote remarks the necessity of establishing a sense of community among women, but he separates Lozana from the lot of prostitutes as special. Lozana is perceived as a woman who speaks her mind, but also a woman who appreciates her freedom, and that sets her apart from the rest. From the very beginning of her adventures, Lozana relishes her freedom: "Y miraba también cómo hazían aquellas que entonçes eran en la çibdad, y notaba lo que le parescía a ella que le había de aprovechar, para siempre ser libre y no sujeta a ninguno" (77-78). One of the reasons why Lozana feels comfortable in Pozo Blanco is precisely the autonomy with which women can walk the streets, speak and have a certain degree of independence. After her experience with Diomedes, Lozana decides to always be free and not be subject to anyone. This desire can be interpreted as not wanting to marry or have a partner again, or in her current occupation, not taking a pimp. It is true that she does take the teenager Rampín as lover, partner, and occasional pimp,

but he does not dictate what she should or should not do. Perhaps Lozana chose him thinking that his young age and his financial dependence on her skills would allow her to always maintain her independence.

Lozana is conscious of the situation of women in her society, and she is especially aware of the fate of most prostitutes, who usually end up destitute and in the direst of conditions during their old age: "Si la vanidad y la riqueza acompañan a la prostituta joven, la pobreza es el último compañero con el que se pasea" (Zafra 131). Lozana utilizes her wit to escape the fate of the other prostitutes: she does not have a "pimp" per se, and she trains herself in other crafts, such as making and selling make-up for women. Through wit and language, she subverts her fate and creates her own liberated form of expression. As one of her clients says of her "más le valdría no ser nasçida, porque dexó el frenillo de la lengua en el vientre de su madre" (142). The client makes direct reference to Lozana's elocuence through the image of Lozana's tongue not having a natural way of being controlled. He also mentions that this has been the case since the day she was born. The lack of control makes reference to both abundance of speech, but also to her capacity of honesty and bluntness in her speech. The client also points out that Lozana's ways spell trouble. His "más le valdría no ser nasçida," elucidates the perception that Lozana produces in others: she is desired, but at the same time she is recognized as a dangerous element because of her eloquence and aggressiveness. Lozana represents everything that Fray Luis and Early Modern society condemn in a woman: the ability to think and to speak for herself, and above all, the freedom both of spirit and movement.

Lozana consistently shows that she has something to say. To a newcomer from Granada who shares the same lover as her daughter, Lozana says: "¿Qué pensáis que estáis en Granada, do se haze por amor? Señora, aquí a peso de dineros" (161). Lozana expresses her pragmatic attitude and her sensible approach to life in a very direct manner. She lets the newcomer know that money is central in the world of Pozo Blanco. Lozana is incapable of keeping what is on her mind to herself. In a different occasion, when called a "puta moça," she immediately answers back: "¿Ansí me tratáis? Más vale puta moça que puta jubilada en el públique" (156). Lozana doesn't deny what she is, a prostitute, but she also takes advantage of the occasion to remind her listener that it is better to be a young prostitute than an old destitute one. Lozana has no limitations as to what she should say or when, even if it means rejecting a client: "Ya sé qué me queréis. Yo no puedo serviros porque pienso en mis necesidades, que no hay quien las piense por mí, que yo y mi criado no tenemos pelo de calça ni con qué defendernos del frío" (178). Lozana makes clear that her comfort and Rampín's are her first priority, even if it means not complying with a client's wishes. As a matter of fact, Lozana does show certain integrity in the management of her business, as she explains: "Quiero vivir de mi sudor, y no me empaché jamás con casadas ni con virgos, ni quise vender moças ni llevar mensaje a quien no supiesse yo çierto que era puta, ni me soy metida entre hombres cassados, para que sus mugeres me hagan desplazer, sino de mi ofiçio me quiero vivir" (165). Lozana, regardless of her occupation as prostitute and seller of beauty products and medical remedies, has a code of conduct that she strives (not always successfully) to maintain. She works exclusively within the world of prostitution and refuses to work with maidens or married women, as well as refusing to accept clients who are married (which does

seem an impossibility). She recognizes her occupation as prostitute, but, just as she is honest in her oral expression, she is honest in the way that she manages her business.

La Lozana andaluza's form is very similar to that of *La Celestina*. There is some narration by the authorial voice, which introduces the characters, abridges the story and explains and comments on the events that have taken place, but most of the book is written in a dialogued form. For instance:

> LOÇANA. – […] ¡Oh, qué lindas son aquellas dos mugeres! Por mi vida, que son como matronas. No he visto en mi vida cosa más honrada ni más honesta!"
> RAMPÍN. – Son romanas principales.
> LOÇANA. – Pues ¿cómo van tan solas? (120)

This format is basically a hybrid between narration and drama (in dialogue form). This direct form of speech allows the reader to "hear" Lozana's voice without having the impression of receiving a filtered version of her words. As it can be seen in the example, it also gives the impression of dynamism, and just as the reader gets to know Lozana, he/she is also able to learn about the other main characters such as Rampín or the Autor. The presence of the author in the text, as one of the characters, blurs the line between reality and fiction. Referred to as only "Autor," his presence adds an impression of autobiography to the fiction: "In the process of following Lozana through Rome the author will become personally involved with her and with the libertine world which surrounds them" (Damiani 43). The Autor includes himself in the story, first as a commentator, and later on as one of Lozana's clients who interacts with Lozana, Rampín and other characters. The reader cannot help but wonder what is real and what is not because of his involvement in the text.[46] Consequently, because the real and the fictional

[46] This technique had been already put into practice by El Arcipestre de Hita in *El libro de buen amor*, and is later on utilized by Cervantes in *Don Quijote*, where the fine line between reality and fiction blurs due to the different narrative voices.

lose their boundaries in the text, Lozana becomes more real and her voice becomes stronger: if the Autor knows her, then it would be safe to assume that she actually exists.

The dialogue form of the book and the presence of the Autor in the text give Delicado's protagonist a certain degree of autonomy and of reality because the reader has the impression of receiving Lozana's speech unadulterated from the Autor's first-hand experience. More importantly, she does not seem to be manipulated by the author/narrator: "Aldonza, como Celestina, es el motor y principio de toda acción, la que trama, enreda, previene, goza y triunfa; pero, al contrario que la vieja salmantina, La Lozana andaluza no pierde en ningún momento las riendas de la situación" (Chiclana 45). Because Delicado's experiences are so similar to Lozana's, Lozana's portrayal as a syphilitic prostitute who happens to be a Jewish exile can be construed as a means for Delicado to write of his own personal experiences without recurring to an autobiographical voice (he was, after all, a priest living a promiscuous life). Through the use of the dialogued form of the work and the quasi real context of the action (the author participating in it), Lozana gives the impression of being in control of her own fate and to have a voice of her own. For instance, when she argues with lawyers in Mamotreto LX or with doctors, in Mamotreto LIX, to the doctors who are trying to find a remedy for syphilis, she says: "Señores, concluí que el médico y la medicina los sabios se sirven d'él y d'ella, mas no hay tan asno médico como el que quiere sanar el griñimón" (249). Rather than being impressed with the doctors' knowledge, Lozana mocks their intentions to find a cure for syphilis. Lozana's knowledge is a popular knowledge, and her speech reflects popular wisdom through her many uses of sayings, such as "cuando amaneçe, para todo el mundo amaneçe" (214), or "a todo hay remedio sino a la muerte" (199).

Lozana's knowledge may not be based on a formal educational base, but it is the type of knowledge that is necessary to survive in the streets.

Let us not forget that Lozana's wit is crucial to her survival since the very beginning. When she is separated from her lover and father of her children, she hides a ring in her mouth that later she sells when she finds herself in Rome alone. The valuable jewel in her mouth could very well be construed as a symbol of the importance of her speech: her words are worth as much as gold: "y siendo ella hermosa y habladera, y dezía a tiempo, y tiníe graçia en cuanto hablaba, de modo que embaía a los que la oían" (77). As the quote shows, her beauty, her wit and her eloquence are the three things that she uses to enchant those who come in contact with her. Her rhetorical abilities, however, are hushed when others identify her as Andalusian and/or Jewish. As it will be seen in the next section, Lozana does benefit from the visual perceptions of others in order to construct an exotic identity that will be appealing to the Roman clientele and potential customers of her cosmetics, but she does not use words to corroborate their shrewd observations.

The three different names Lozana is known by suggest Lozana's stages of life. They are also representative of the changes in her identity. When young, she is called Aldonza, a name common among girls during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, made famous by Cervantes through Aldonza Lorenzo, Dulcinea's alter ego. Once Aldonza elopes with Diomedes, she begins to be called "Lozana," making reference to her exuberant beauty. It is her lover Diomedes who asks her to change her name to Lozana: "ya Diomedes le había rogado que fuesse su nombre Loçana, pues que Dios se lo había puesto en su formación, que muncho más le convenía que no Aldonça" (76).

Diomedes asks her to change her name because Lozana it is more suited to describe her unusual beauty than the more common Aldonza. Lozana bears this name for most of her adult life, changing it in the end to la Vellida (the old one) when she leaves Rome on the eve of its sack and moves to Típali.

The three names of Lozana have been interpreted in different ways. Costa Fontes for instance, believes that Lozana represents a deviant trinity: "Lozana is an almost perfect anagram for Aldonza, and Vellida means the same as Lozana, so that, even though his protagonist seems to have three names, she really has only one" (212). Costa Fontes' interpretation of Lozana's various names suggest a mockery of the Holy Trinity. This is not surprising if we have in mind that "los italianos […] denominaban como 'peccadiglio d'Espagna' la herejía de no creer en la Trinidad" (López-Baralt 31). This "peccadiglio d'Espagna" is due to the fact that many of the most important religious figures in Spain were *conversos*, who, in many cases, were skeptical with regard to the idea of the trinity. Other interpretations, such as the one by Zafra, conceive of Lozana as a representation of Mary Magdalene, traditionally the repentant prostitute (Zafra 124). Although these are very valid interpretations, I believe that Lozana's different names are a sign of her ability to reinvent herself and to negotiate her identity. According to circumstances, Lozana changes her identity in order to fit within the context that best will benefit her. During her childhood and early years, she is known by the name given to her by her mother, a family name: "¿Yo, señora? Pues más paresco a mi agüela que a mi señora madre, y por amor de mi agüela me llamaron a mi Aldonça" (70). Lozana's early years are defined by her relationships with her family, first with her mother, then with her aunt. When she elopes with Diomedes, she is a young woman of rare beauty. Her name

Lozana will reflect that beauty and youth and will serve as a means of catching the interest of other men. Finally, Vellida, meaning both beauty and old age, reflects Lozana's wish to retire and leave her occupation: "Ya estoy harta de meter barboquejos a putas y poner xáquinas de mi casa, y pues he visto mi ventura y desgracia y tenido modo y manera y conversaçión para saber vivir" (267). The narrator himself explains the connection between Lozana's three names: "Ansí que Vellida y Alaroça y Aldonça particularmente demuestran cosa garrida o hermosa, y Loçana generalmente loçanía, hermosura, lindeza, fresqueza y belleza" (271).[47]

Lozana's different names could also be interpreted as a representation of the three faces of the pagan goddess: the maiden, the mother and the crone. Aldonza would be the young maiden, Lozana would be the mother (although her children are only mentioned and we do not see her in her role as mother, she is obviously fertile and produces various children), and finally Vellida would be a representation of the wise crone. The three faces of the goddess, symbol of the feminine, become a deviant female trinity in the context of *La Lozana andaluza*.[48] These three different facets also help emphasize Lozana's ability to transform and adapt. Lozana's changing identity, and the use of speech, allows her to procure a life for herself when she was left in complete poverty, and to escape the destruction of Rome under the name of la Vellida. But besides her appealing discourse, it is Lozana's body and the way it is "read" or perceived by others which allows her to (re)invent herself according to the circumstances.

---

[47] According to the narrator, Alaroça is the Arab form of Aldonza, and a common name among Arab girls. Lozana, thus, is a crypto Jew with an Arab name, a reflection of the hybridity lived in the Iberian Peninsula.

[48] In his book *The Hebrew Goddess*, Raphael Patai collects various myths and stories on the figure of the Goddess in Judaism. Further studies of these Hebrew myths could bring to light if indeed Delicado intended to make of Lozana a subversive Judaic Goddess who is in direct opposition to the Christian Godhead/Trinity.

(Re)Invention: Body, Sexuality and Negotiation of Identity

One of the central themes of *La Lozana andaluza* is the invention and reinvention of identity. Lozana's identity is that of a *conversa*, but she is able to negotiate her identity in order to succeed in her business. As Teresa, one of Lozana's first acquaintances in Rome remarks:

> Antes de ocho días sabrá toda Roma, que ésta en son la veo yo que con los cristianos será cristiana, y con los jodíos, jodía, y con los turcos, turca, y con los hidalgos, hidalga, y con los ginoveses, ginovesa, y con los franceses, françesa, que para todos tiene salida. (87)

Teresa observes Lozana's chameleonic ability to fluidly change her identity in order to make the most of the circumstances. The main corpus of Lozana's story takes place in the Jewish community of Pozo Blanco. Within this community, Lozana is able to (re)invent herself according to her circumstances. As will be seen, she uses the fluidity that her mixed background gives her in order to manipulate the perception that others have of her. The narrator says that upon Lozana's arrival to Rome, she demonstrates her capacity of reinvention: "aunque fuesen de Castilla, se hazía ella de allá por parte de su tío, y si era andaluz, mejor, y si de Turquía, mejor, por el tiempo y señas que de aquella tierra daba, y embaucaba a todos con su gran memoria" (78). Lozana utilizes the knowledge of her travels and her physical aspect to morph into various regional identities, among them Castilian (Christian), Andalusian (her own Jewishness), and Turkish (Muslim). In reality, Lozana allows others to "read" her body and form their own opinion of what ethnic group she belongs to. She may proclaim her origin as Andalusian, but she does not openly say that her ethnic background is Jewish.

By letting others decide where she belongs in the compartmentalized Roman society, she is able to (re)invent herself with more efficacy. If she is with Jews, she lets

them believe that she is Jewish, if she is with Moors, she lets them believe she is Moorish, if she is with Christians, she lets them believe that she is Christian. This approach to her own identity allows Lozana to make of her body a fluid entity that seamlessly fits into the ethnic group that will accept her. This is not to say, however, that Lozana is not a crypto-Jew or *conversa*. Over and over again those Jews who come in contact with her recognize her as one of them, "de nostris" (84), due to various aspects of quotidian life such as her cooking, and her knowledge of Jewish customs and traditions. When arriving to a Jewish household accompanied by Rampín, Lozana says: "Aquí bien huele. Convite se debe hazer. ¡Por mi vida, que huele a porqueta asada!" (112). While she enjoys the aroma of the cooking, she identifies the meat cooking as pork, which prompts Rampín to correct her, telling her that they are cooking "adafina" in preparation for the Sabbath. Lozana immediately shows her knowledge of Jewish cooking by commenting on the technique of cooking on coal. She does not identify herself with the Jewish community openly, but her comment definitely shows that she is aware of a familiarity between her upbringing and the Pozo Blanco community. Her apparent confusion as to the meat being cooked could very well be a means of ascertaining Rampín's and the dweller's ethnic background, or also, as a way of testing the waters before showing any sign of her own mixed background.

It could be argued that Lozana does not openly identify herself as Jewish because of the persecutions suffered in the Iberian Peninsula. Lozana's exile may seem accidental, but in reality she is part of the diasporic Jewish community. However, it could also be argued that Lozana does not share willingly her origins in order to not lose the mystery and allure that surrounds her. By setting herself apart and as different from

the Pozo Blanco community, Lozana becomes different from the others: she is Spanish, she is Andalusian, she has traveled throughout the Mediterranean, she knows beauty secrets that no one else knows. She is a novelty and she stands out because of this. This difference or otherness could be considered a hindrance, but in Lozana's case, it does work to her advantage. Thus, Lozana very shrewdly manipulates her markers of difference. She sets herself apart from the community as an outsider, but she is not so different as to raise suspicion or to be rejected. The result is her quick rise within this marginal community, soon becoming a central figure, and the most desired prostitute: "Quiçá no hay muger en Roma que sea estada más festejada que yo" (129). Within the community of Pozo Blanco, these markers of difference elicit curiosity and desire, while giving her the opportunity to procure a life for herself because of the attraction that they generate.

Lozana herself does not proclaim her origin to others: those who come in contact with her make a guess as to where she is from without any input from her, other to confirm that she is Andalusian: "Bien se le pareçe, que ansí son todas frescas, graçiosas y lindas, como ella, y en su loçanía se ve que es de nuestra tierra. ¿Cuánto ha, señora mía, que salistes de Córdoba?" (80). There is something about Lozana's appearance that marks her as Cordovan and Jewish. Those who share that very same origin are able to read the signs in Lozana's body and customs that indicate her origin. For instance, Lozana cooks "hormigos torçidos" in the manner of the Jews, with oil rather than with water: "Pues dexá hazer a quien de un puño de buen harina y tanto hazeite, si lo tenéis bueno, os hará una almofía lleva, que no los olvidéis aunque muráis" (84). This custom identifies her as Jewish, while the beauty of her body identifies her as Andalusian.

Lozana's body is readable both in terms of beauty that produces desire, but also as a racialized woman's body that is subject to the discourses of power and hegemony. The body of the colonial subject, as Homi Bhabha elucidates, "is always simultaneously inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power" (294). Although Lozana is not a "colonial subject" per se, she is part of a marginalized ethnic minority within the context of a nation, Spain, that is in the process of becoming a worldwide Empire and that has just finished "colonizing" what remained of Muslim territory in the Iberian Peninsula. Bhabha's description of the colonial body as caught between desire and domination fits Lozana's situation: it is a desired body, but a body that can be read as racialized, allowing her no place within a homogenous European society. Although she finds a means of living within the Pozo Blanco community, the sack of Rome destroys this safe haven for Jews and Lozana, by then Vellida, finds herself once more in an imposed exile.

Lozana knows that she is desired and racialized, and she takes advantage of what her readability as "exotic" might bring her. Dopico Black explains the connection of body and appearance in Early Modern society: "insecurities generated by the interpretative depth of the converso's or Morisco's body: how to know what was concealed beneath the surface, or if an orthodox appearance might mask a crypto-Jew or a crypto-Muslim" (7). These insecurities existed on both sides. It was not only a question of Christians being able to read the Other's body. It was also a concern for crypto-Jews and crypto-Muslims to read each other's body in order to have some assurance of discretion and confidence. It would be expected to find signs in Lozana that allow others to "read" her body as a racialized body, and as the body of a *conversa*.

Lozana acknowledges her origin as Andalusian, but she does not say directly that she is a *conversa* or Jew. She does not actively recognize her ethnic origin. Lozana does mention in several occasions that she has spent a number of years in the exotic Levant. This intimate relationship with the Oriental world only adds to the Orientalized heritage that her Andalusian origin insinuates. Spain is perceived as different in Europe due to the heavy Arab and Jewish influence in its culture and people. Because Lozana is Andalusian it would be only logical to question the "cleanliness" of her blood lines. Again, Lozana takes advantage of the situation. She uses her Andalusian origin to identify and connect herself with the Oriental. Consequently, this representation that Lozana constructs of herself results in an exotization at two levels: firstly because of the acknowledgment of her Andalusian origin (but not her Jewish ancestry) while in Italian lands, and secondly because of her voluntary identification with the exotic other when making reference to the knowledge learned in the Middle-East.

Desire and derision are the ambivalent attitudes that the racialized subject encounters. Bhabha explains that within colonial discourse, the object is perceived in an ambivalent manner: "'otherness' […] is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity" (96). Lozana experiences both. She is desired, but at the same time, she produces a grotesque effect because of her missing nose or the other scars left by syphilis. The missing nose "es también símbolo de la corrupción de la Lozana […] La falta de nariz no sólo puede asociarse con la enfermedad, sino también con la lascivia" (Fourquet-Reed 87). It is associated with lasciviousness because of the sexual origin of the disease. Regardless of the ravages that the disease produces in her body, Lozana is always perceived as

desirable, by men and women alike, the only imperfection in an otherwise perfect body. For instance, Rampín's aunt says upon meeting Lozana: "por mi vida que tiene lindo cuerpo. […] Yo quisiera ser hombre, tan bien me ha parescido. ¡Oh, qué pierna de muger! […] veramente que ella debe de ser buena de su cuerpo" (103). Rampín's aunt goes as far as declaring that she wishes to be a man so that she can enjoy Lozana's body. Lozana's body is objectified and fragmented (Rampín's aunt emphasizes the beauty of Lozana's legs). This fragmentation of the body exacerbates Lozana's commodified nature: she exists to be consumed and objectified. She is not perceived as a whole individual/subject, but as a body that can bring pleasure if only by gazing.

The comments by men are varied and abundant, and make reference not only to her beauty, but to the sexual desire that her body produces in men. From the beginning of the work, Lozana's beauty is established: "era dicho entre todos de su loçanía, ansí en la cara como en todos sus miembros" (74-75). Her beauty is directly connected to her origin: she is beautiful because she is Andalusian. For instance, one of her potential clients says upon her sight: "¡Voto a mí, que es andaluza! En el andar y meneo se conosçe. ¡Oh, qué pierna! En vellas se me desperezó la complissión. ¡Por vida del rey, que no está virgen! ¡Ay, qué meneos que tiene!" (140). In this quote, the speaker immediately identifies Lozana as Andalusian. The reader already knows this information because Lozana's place of origin has been already mentioned. But there must be something in Lozana's appearance or behavior that makes those she encounters in the story to classify her as Andalusian upon seeing her. Her body is encoded with the clues necessary to decipher her origin. The people she meets become "readers" themselves when they are able to precisely ascertain her origin by looking at her and deciphering the

clues. She is not only perceived as "Spanish." She is very specifically identified as Andalusian.

In the previous quote, Lozana's legs are mentioned again. Legs and feet are associated with sexuality and genitalia. Sigmund Freud remarks that "The foot replaces the penis which is so much missed in the woman" (108). Although there is no direct reference to Lozana's feet, it is obvious that they are visible due to the fact that the leg (probably the lower leg) is visible. These references to Lozana's legs occur on more than one occasion. Furthermore, Freud continues:

> In some cases of foot fetishism it could be shown that the desire for looking originally directed to the genitals, which wished to reach its object from below, was stopped on the way by prohibition and repression, and therefore adhered to the foot or shoe as a fetish. (108)

Because the foot becomes a fetish or a substitution for female genitalia, in the child's mind the foot is a representation of his own genitalia, giving the female body a phallus. There is a clear desire on the part of the male for "looking" beyond Lozana's legs and enjoying Lozana's body. His very physical and sexual reaction ("se me desperezó la complissión" makes reference to being sexually aroused) leave little doubt that he desires her. Besides his reading of Lozana's ethnicity and racialized origin, he also reads her as non-virgin, with the implications that an unmarried, non-virgin woman is available to those who would wish to possess her. The double marginalization of Lozana is latent in this scene, where she is doubly objectified as an ethnic minority, and as a commodified body to be consumed. In other moments, Lozana is identified as a Spaniard: "¡Voto a Dios que es vuestra merçed española!" (156). Lozana does not announce her origin, she limits herself to corroborate the observer's words: "Señor, sí, ¿por qué no? ¿Soy por ventura tuerta o çiega? ¿Por qué me tengo de spreçiar de ser española?" (156). In this

case, Lozana answers the question of her origin in a defensive way, asking why she shouldn't appreciate her Spanish origin (a reaction that does not happen when she is identified as Andalusian). Her defensiveness is a way of reaffirming her identity as a *conversa*. It could also make reference to the socio-political power struggles between the Spanish government and the Italian government in the city of Rome, which culminates with the sack of Rome in 1527.

Although Lozana is perceived as a commodity in the marginal areas of Rome, a body to be consumed, enjoyed and objectified, she shows a voice and a desire of her own when it comes to sexuality. Lozana shows a pronounced sexual freedom from her early age. When walking with her aunt in the street in Seville, she sees an attractive man, and Aldonza does not hesitate to show her interest in the pedestrian: "¡Ay, cómo es dispuesto! ¡Y qué ojos tan lindos! ¡Qué ceja partida! [...] Querría que se quitase los guantes por verle qué mano tiene" (72). Aldonza not only admires the physical aspect of the merchant, but also desires to see the physical body hidden from her view.[49] Aldonza mentions the gloves, but the hope to remove this specific article of clothing implies her longing to see, touch and experience the masculine body. After her first sexual encounter with Rampín, she admires the size of his genitals shamelessly: "En mi vida vi mano de mortero tan bien hecha. ¡Qué gordo que es! Y todo parejo. ¡Mal año para nabo de Xerez! […] ¡No es de dejar este tal unicornio!" (105). Just like Lozana is objectified, Lozana's gaze and languages objectifies her sexual partners. By only describing Rampín's genitals, she fragments him the very same way that she is fragmented by others.

[49] At this time of probably her early teenage years, Aldonza has not been given yet the name Lozana.

Aldonza's reactions show an exaggerated performance of sexual desire when compared to the modesty and virtue expected of the Early Modern woman. Aldonza's exotic origins are one way to explain her irrepressible sexuality. It can be concluded that Aldonza's sexual appetite is an expected trait due to her portrayal as an Orientalized woman. Even in the case of transgressing *cristianas* who subvert the rules imposed by the patriarchy, there is not such a blatant expression of sexuality as occurs with Lozana or other racialized *pícaras*. In Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende*, doña Angela, for example, participates in a transgression of patriarchal values, putting in danger the "honor" of her family because of her escapades from the safety of the home. However, doña Angela never expresses vocally such strong sexual appetite as Lozana's. The same occurs with nonracialized *pícaras*. Teresa de Manzanares marries various times and strives to better her life, but she does not utilize prostitution as a means to earn a living, and her sexual appetites are not as graphically presented as Lozana's.

But this exaggerated sexuality is manifested in works such as the *Jarchas* or *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*, in which the woman takes the initiative and shows herself as an active and willing participant when calling to her lover, or, in the case of Jarifa, at the moment of consummating her clandestine marriage with Abindarráez. The sexual emancipation of Aldonza and her liberties are most clear when she abandons her aunt in order to escape with Diomedes, the merchant, and especially in her later relationship with Rampín and her job as courtesan or prostitute once she establishes herself in Rome. Lozana declares that "yo apetito tengo desde que nací, sin ajo y queso, que podría prestar a mis vecinas" (104-105). The appetite to which she makes reference, after she asks for Rampín to undress, is obviously of a sexual nature.

She is also vocal in asking of men what she wants in bed. During her first encounter with Rampín, Lozana entices him to bed with her. Rampín, younger than her and eager, does not think twice and they share her bed. Lozana guides Rampín into doing what pleasures her the most:

> Pasico, bonico, quedico, no me ahinquéis. Andá conmigo, ¡por ahí van allá! ¡Ay, qué priesa os dais, y no miráis que está otrie en pasamiento sino vos! […] Daca la mano, y tente a mí que el almadraque es corto. Aprieta y ava y ahoya y todo a un tiempo. […] ¡Ay, amores, que soy vuestra muerta y viva! (104)

Lozana recognizes her sexuality, but she is not ashamed of her desires. On the contrary, she exploits them, utilizes them and manipulates them in order to achieve her monetary goals, and her own personal pleasure. As can be seen in her first encounter with Rampín, Lozana tells him what to do in order for her to enjoy the experience as well. Rampín does not argue with her and happily acquiesces to her wishes. In this scene, Lozana is the active participant, guiding Rampín who, inexperienced, follows her lead. Delicado shows that women also enjoy their sexuality and the sexual act. As a matter of fact, as López-Baralt points out, Delicado is the first author in Spanish literature to describe a woman's orgasm (39). However, Delicado uses a racialized prostitute in order to demonstrate this idea of the woman enjoying the sexual act as much or more than a man. Because Lozana is a member of an ethnic minority, the author has more freedom to utilize graphic descriptions during Lozana's sexual encounters. These detailed descriptions contrast with the transgressions of nonracialized women, who subvert societal rules, but do not exhibit the sexual appetites and freedoms of Lozana. Cooley observes that in Lozana's case, "su conciencia de la inestabilidad del sujeto social llega a ser su mayor recurso para ganarse la vida, su identidad y su satisfacción corporal a la vez" ("De *La Lozana*" 151). Aldonza knows that the ideal model of virtue is difficult to

maintain (she will not work with married men, married women or virgins because she wants to avoid problems), but she also knows that women also have appetites and desires. Knowing this, she takes advantage of human nature to start her business and become independent from the established and expected behavioral codes for women.

Delicado himself writes in *La Lozana andaluza* about different types of women and the expectations that society has of Christian women, becoming obvious that behavior is connected to ethnic heritage:

> Sin dubda, si ningún hombre quisiesse escrebir el audaçia de las mugeres, no creo que bastassen plumas de veloçes escritores; y si, por semejante, quisiesse escrebir la bondad, honestidad, devoción, caridad, castidad y lealtad que en las claras mugeres se halla y hemos visto, porque las que son buenas no son tanto partiçipadas en común. (268)

Delicado recognizes two types of women: those who transgress and those who follow the rules of conduct. Of both, he says, there are many. But of the ones who are virtuous and follow the rules of conduct (goodness, honesty, devotion, charity, chastity and loyalty), he says that they are "claras mugeres." The implications of this adjective, "claras," in this context are many. First of all, it refers to women without sin or blame. However, taking into account Delicado's background, and the obsession with the purity of blood in Spain at the moment, Delicado's use of the adjective "claras" also refers to women who are without ethnic mixing, women who are not hybrid. Thus, these "claras mugeres" are the virtuous ones, while the "audaces mugeres" (notice the absence of the word "claras") are those who subvert the patriarchal system. They are the opposite of the "claras mugeres," they are everything that the "claras mugeres" are not, including their ethnic background. "Audaces mugeres" are racialized, and Lozana shows time after time that she is one of them.

La Lozana andaluza concludes with the sack of Rome from which Lozana saves herself along with her lover Rampín. In the epilogue, the author reiterates the reasons for Lozana's salvation: "La señora Lozana fue mujer muy audaz [...] se guardaba mucho de hacer cosas que fuesen ofensa a Dios ni a sus mandamientos" (268-69). According to the narrator, regardless of Lozana's apparent immorality, she is saved because she does not sin directly against God, probably an effort on Delicado's part to present himself as blameless of his own sins. However, if we take into account Lozana's characteristics and the advantage she takes of her identity, perhaps it would be more correct to conclude that Lozana is saved due to her capacity of reinvention, to the beauty of her body, to her representation as an exoticized being, and to her ability to express herself through speech. Lozana fluidly moves across societies and ethnicities, her mixed background giving her the tools she needs to succeed regardless of the circumstances. Lozana presents and represents the exotic, the mysterious, the beautiful, even the horrible and repulsive when confronted with a Western Europe that is unable to resist the secret promises of the magic of the Levant.

CHAPTER III

THE MANY FACES OF THE *PÍCARA*: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE "PUTIDONCELLA" IN *LA PÍCARA JUSTINA*

Francisco López de Úbeda published *La pícara Justina* in 1605, decades after the publication of *La lozana andaluza*, but keeping in trend with the surge and popularity of the picaresque novel through works like *El Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599). *La pícara Justina* introduces the reader to the adventures, travels and misadventures of its main protagonist, Justina, who tells her story in an autobiographical mode.[50] The main purpose of Justina's tale is that of entertaining the reader, as its author clarifies in the prologue to the work. By 1605 the picaresque canon had already been well established with the publication of works such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the latter becoming an immediate best-seller. Traits such as the autobiographical, confessional voice of the *pícaro*, the various masters and traveling, poverty and hunger, and social satire had become part of the picaresque literary world. *La pícara Justina* is influenced by these picaresque works, and consequently the development of the story exhibits more picaresque traits than its predecessor *La Lozana andaluza*. Justina travels, deceives and even works for others, albeit not in a

[50] The authorship of *La pícara Justina* has been put into question many times by various critics, such as Nicolás Antonio or Gregorio Máyans y Siscar, who defended the idea that Fray Andrés Pérez was the author of the book, utilizing, perhaps, the pseudonym López de Úbeda. Marcel Bataillon put an end to the controversy in the late 1960's when he provided certain evidence of Úbeda's authorship (Damiani 14-17).

master/servant context per se. Her goal, like Lozana's and other *pícaros* is that of survival and achieving pecuniary gain. Justina's story is told in a first person narrative, while Lozana's is told in the form of a dialogue. There are also commonalities between the two works. Justina's main occupation is that of prostitute, although it is not as blatantly expressed as in Lozana's case. Justina is also an Orientalized woman who speaks and expresses her thoughts and ideas.

La pícara Justina is influenced by its historical context. Written in the immediate years before the final expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609, *La pícara Justina* cannot escape its historical background. While *La Lozana andaluza* takes note of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in *La pícara Justina* we observe the fate of *moriscos* and the prevalent societal attitudes toward them, attitudes that will be fully exploited later on in *La hija de Celestina*. Justina addresses her mixed heritage, but like Lozana, she does not directly identify herself with a cultural minority. Justina's language and rhetoric become increasingly difficult to understand as her autobiographical text develops. Justina is aware of her place in a society that is ridding itself of exotic elements. Her language becomes obscure in order to hide from plain sight her subversive nature and mixed origin. In this respect, Justina differs greatly from Lozana who is direct in her speech while Justina forces the reader to make an extra effort to read between the lines and interpret the symbolic meaning of the text.

In this chapter, I will show how Justina's mixed heritage and racialization allow the *pícara* to subvert, deceive and survive in a society that is becoming more reluctant to accept those who come from cultural minorities. I will demonstrate how Justina's use of language affects the perception of her. She constructs her story and leaves the necessary

information for the reader to decipher aspects of her autobiography that are hidden in layers of meaning. As will be seen, Justina's "true self" hides underneath the apparent meaning of her writing: she tells the reader one thing, but the reader is left with clues to arrive to a very different perspective about her. She uses words to create a disguise under which to hide herself. In order to construct her various identities, Justina not only makes use of her mixed origin, but she also utilizes her circumstances at the moment (pilgrimage, lawsuits, marriage) to construct new identities that will allow her to achieve her financial goals. As we will see, Justina's body becomes imbedded with various markers that give the reader more information than Justina herself is verbally willing to give. Markers such as the symptoms of syphilis or the origins of her parents identify Justina as a racialized prostitute, not as a pious *cristiana*, which is the image she tries to project. Justina entertains the reader, but she is also perceived as an entity who should not be trusted by the reader. In order to fully understand the text, the reader is obliged to read Justina's hermetic rhetoric in depth. Justina communicates through metaphors that serve as a disguise to hide her past transgressions. The hermetic rhetoric is part of Justina's performance as someone who she is not supposed to be. As the prostitute daughter of innkeepers, Justina hides behind Greek myths, flamboyant vocabulary and invented words to project a different persona. She very well could be construed as a liar, reinforcing the Early Modern stereotype that *moriscos* and *conversos* were not to be trusted.

In this chapter I will also address the moralizing tone addressing female behavior that appears throughout the book. This tone serves to emphasize Justina's transgression and her portrayal as an undesirable member of society. This moralizing behavioral code

provided by the author describes the direct opposite of Justina's own actions and conduct. The authorial voice, which appears at the end of each chapter, judges and deems Justina's actions as inappropriate. In the prologue, the author addresses the reader directly, explaining "el intento de todos los tomos y libros de la pícara Justina" (20). His intent is to warn men of the dangers of carnal love. He also explains in this prologue how the "mujer libre" (21) loses sight of those virtues that are important such as humbleness, chastity, and truthfulness. He puts special emphasis on sensuality and sexuality, but, surprisingly, López de Úbeda finds a trait that he considers even more menacing: "en estos tiempos las mujeres perdidas no cesan sus gustos por satisfacer a su sensualidad – que esto fuera menos mal-, sino que hacen de esto trato, ordenándolo a una insaciable codicia de dinero" (López de Úbeda 21-22). The author recognizes the evils of lust, but he argues that utilizing sensuality to get any type of material gain is even worse because of greed. The goal of the *pícara*, as seen in *La Lozana andaluza* and as will be seen in *La pícara Justina*, is, precisely, to achieve material gain. While the *pícaro* can do this by serving various masters, the *pícara* finds herself in the situation of selling her body in order to achieve certain financial security and the means to live comfortably. As Bruno Damiani explains, Justina is "a female protagonist who delights in tricks in scheming, tricking and deceiving. As a type of *femme fatale*, Justina succeeds in attracting a vast number of suitors, provoking physical desire for the exclusive purpose of gaining wealth" (25). López de Úbeda is not only denouncing the evils of prostitution, he is also noticing a type of proto-capitalism that emerges during this time. If anyone is able to procure a life for themselves, the rigid societal structure crumbles: the poor enrich themselves and become part of the bourgeoisie. This would apply to Justina, whose sisters resent

Justina's pecuniary endeavors in León because she goes back to her town giving the impression of belonging to a higher social class (207). In the case of women, the author does not provide any ideas as to what the woman not born into money is supposed to do in order to earn a living. Women in the situation of Lozana or Justina have few options open to them, one of them being prostitution. Part of the reason why many of these women turn to prostitution rather than becoming domestic servants, for instance, is the heavy influx of people from the countryside into the city during the Middle-Ages and the Early Modern Period: "en la ciudad [los jóvenes] se convierten en vagabundos que no dudan en robar, medigar e incluso, en el caso de las mujeres, lanzarse a la prostitución" (Zafra 28). With jobs either being sparse or requiring many years of training, many young women turned to prostitution in order to survive in the city. The idea of sexuality and greed, or of utilizing the body in a sexual manner to satisfy a material need, highlights the desire for money and riches. This pecuniary impulse might very well be a nod to Justina's mixed heritage and the perceptions of Early Modern Spaniards regarding ethnic minorities as covetous: "la educación, la inteligencia y el pensamiento especulativo comienzan a hacerse peligrosos a la altura del Renacimiento por asociarse a este grupo humano desprestigiado y perseguido" (López-Baralt 32). The financial success of the Jewish people in the Iberian Peninsula becomes a dangerous trait in the Early Modern period, and serves to feed the stereotype of the Jew as greedy.

Justina presents herself as a chaste, virtuous woman. Her words, however, point in the opposite direction. It is possible to observe in Justina an acknowledgment of what the virtuous Christian woman is supposed to be, yet, at the same time, Justina leaves indications in her writing that what she says is not to be taken literally. Once these marks

are found and interpreted, the real Justina emerges, not as a chaste, Christian blushing bride, but as a racialized, syphilitic prostitute who lies and cheats. Justina is portrayed as a woman with two faces, ambivalent and with secrets that need to remain undisclosed. This portrayal of the feminine takes on a new meaning when analyzed within the parameters of woman as a representation of the nation. As Geraldine Heng elucidates: "Throughout global history, with few exceptions, women, the feminine, and figures of gender, have traditionally anchored the nationalist imaginary" (Heng 31). The nationalist imaginary in Spain at this time is intimately tied with the negation of allowing ethnic minorities to maintain their identity. Assimilation or expulsion are the two fates of Muslims at this point (Jews had already been expelled). In the historical context of the early seventeenth century, Spain is quickly losing its power as empire and is entering its decadence. Justina's idealized face shows those traits that are most valued during the Early Modern period: a Christian nation that is homogenous and strong. However, Justina's reality, buried under the layers of meaning, tells the story of a different nation, a racialized nation that has been hidden and even rejected. As we saw in the chapter dedicated to *La Lozana andaluza*, the efforts to cleanse Spain of other cultures backfire, since these cultures have become by this time an intrinsic part of the Spanish character, people and culture. In Justina, a prostitute, we see that hidden and rejected representation of a mixed nation.

La pícara Justina is divided into four books that narrate the adventures and misadventures of Justina. There is a first section where Justina introduces herself and establishes the tone of the book. She constantly makes reference, through images and metaphors, to the inability of women to write as well as a man. She emphasizes the fact

that she is delving into a world where she, a woman, has no place. This short section of the book introduces the reader to the structuring that Justina will follow throughout her tale: difficult rhetoric, constant demeaning comments about women and double meanings and metaphors. Although the difficulties of Justina's prose could indicate the rhetorical abilities of women, I believe that it is a deliberate act of masking Justina's true self. Every section of the book is introduced by a short poem that summarizes the topic of the chapter, and it ends with an "Aprovechamiento" or moral of the story, which the masculine narrative voice utilizes to criticize Justina and enlighten the reader on the various faults of Justina as "mujer libre." This voice also warns of the consequences of sinning and succumbing to the weaknesses of the flesh. After this introduction, Justina begins the story of her life. The first book, "La pícara montañesa," contains the origins of Justina, her *converso*/*morisco* pedigree, and her early years, during which she worked as a "mesonera" in her parents' business. The location of this first book is Mansilla, a small town in the province of León. In the second book, "La pícara romera," Justina decides to go to the city of León on a "romería." During her travels, she is obligated to defend her "virtue" by deceiving those who would take it and becoming the trickster herself by robbing them of their goods. She arrives in León only to continue deceiving and tricking those who come in contact with her. The third book is called "La pícara pleitista." Justina returns to her hometown only to find her siblings striving to take her inheritance money from her after the death of her parents. She travels to Rioseco in hopes to find justice there. During her stay in this town, she meets a *morisca* who takes her into her home and treats Justina as her potential successor in her crafts. Justina fools everyone into believing that she is related to the *morisca* and takes off with the morisca's

goods after her death. The final book, "La pícara novia," deals with the long list of Justina's pretenders and Justina's various marriages, the final one to the fictional and famous *pícaro*, Guzmán de Alfarache. Again, Justina shows her capacity of deceiving, as she strives to present herself as a virgin during her wedding night. As will be demonstrated, this particular episode is greatly ironic since Justina's main means of achieving monetary gain is prostitution.

The chapter titles that comprise the tale of Justina's life give already a glimpse of Justina's many faces and negotiations of identity. Justina changes her identity as she sees fit, according not only to her stage in life, but also to the circumstances that surround her, always keeping in mind which identity will help her achieve the most monetary gain. Justina can be slippery. She can fool the reader as effectively as she fools the men that she comes in contact with. Enriqueta Zafra explains that Justina's book provides men with a moralizing compass, that is, it warns men of women like Justina who are free and tamper with men's honor (73). It could be argued that the main intended readers of Justina's autobiography are men, especially since women were advised to read books that were better suited to the feminine character, such as devotional books and hagiographies (Mujica xlvi-xlvii). Men who do not read between the lines and who do not delve into the various metaphors and symbols are then as fooled by the text, as the fools Justina comes in contact with during her travels and adventures. It is the reader's job to look beyond Justina's words and decipher their meaning.

This chapter will show how language is used to create these variables and different layers of meaning within the text, contextualized within markers of race, prostitution and negotiations of identity. This chapter will also show the correlation

between body and text, a body that is penetrated for the pleasure of the client and the financial gain of the *pícara*, and a text that needs to be penetrated in order to be fully understood and consequently to produce the enjoyment of the reader. The female body is perceived by the male reader as an unknown entity, something that is beyond the reach of his experience. Elizabeth Scarlett remarks that "in representations of women the body often overshadows the mind, so that women become incarnations of the physical […] in a male-oriented culture, Woman is associated with all things noncultural" (Scarlett 1). They body is the pivotal representation of woman in literature. Her mind is relegated to a second place, or not considered at all. As Scarlett explains, woman does not belong as a writing subject in a patriarchal society. In this case, the text is produced by a woman and as her production (always under the control of the masculine voice), the text becomes a representation of her own body. Just as her body is objectified and deemed as foreign and other, her textual production is also marginalized. Her prose is also foreign, difficult to understand, classify and construe, just like the *pícara*'s body. Text and body show markers that need to be interpreted in order to fully unlock the subversive message that Justina hides behind a seeming appearance of virtue and meekness.

The Woman and the Pen: Manipulating Language in the Text

Many critics believe that *La pícara Justina* is one of the most difficult and hermetic texts to understand written during the Early Modern period. Much of its difficulty stems from the fact that the author uses mythological references, metaphors, plays on words, and historical allusions and anecdotes. As Bruno Damiani remarks, "The jargon of preciosity, the paraphrases, and the frequently obscure passages of *Justina* […]

have been interpreted by some of the more recent literary historians as a sign of the work's philological importance and its artistry" (24). The complexity of the language used, however, makes of *La pícara Justina* a book that has for many years been misunderstood by critics and left aside because it appeared to hold no literary value. The questionable morality of the book and the negative depiction of characters resulted in labeling the book as "vulgar" and "immoral" (Damiani 23). These perceptions of *La pícara Justina* echo those of *La Lozana andaluza*, another book rejected by early criticism as depraved and even pornographic. There is a correlation between these two works in which the protagonist is a racialized prostitute, the author is of mixed origins, and the genre has been marginalized by literary criticism until recently.

Besides the formal and thematic aspects of the text, the reader needs to have in mind that Justina will strive to trick him and to present her life in a very different light from the actual truth. Traditionally, language has been considered to be the dominion of men. Women do not naturally show the aptitude to create with words. Judith Butler, following Luce Irigaray's theories, remarks: "within a language pervasively masculinist, a phallogocentric language, women constitute the *unpresentable*. In other words, women represent the sex that cannot be thought, a linguistic absence and opacity" (13). Because the woman operates within a world that is dominated by masculine discourse, her linguistic presence is null. In the book of Genesis, it is Adam who has the dominion of language, as he is the one who names animals and plants before Eve is created. When Eve is given to him, she does not participate in the naming process because it has already been done. As a matter of fact, it is Adam who labels Eve as woman. In a society heavily influenced by Christianity and the Bible, this ideal relationship between language

and gender would become ingrained in Early Modern society's views. In Úbeda's text there is a direct relation between Eve and all women (Zafra 76), and Justina accepts her parallelism with Eve as an essentialist trait: "Las mujeres heredaron de Eva hacer rancho con una sierpe, aunque tengan a su servicio un bello Adán, aun en tiempo de pan de boda" (118). Although perceived as humorous and even sarcastic, if the intended audience for the book is men, then Justina's comments serve only as a corroboration of the supposed nature of women, starting with Eve.

Thanks to the invention of the printing press, books became more available to both men and women, not only from the upper classes, but also from the working class. Although in most cases, education for women was not a priority, during the Early Modern period there is a rise in women writers (Mujica xiii).[51] However, women writers confronted ridicule and difficulties if they insisted on practicing their craft: "Except perhaps in France, literary women faced strong opposition from the state, society and religion" (Mujica xiv). In many instances, they were taught to read and write only because of its practicality: reading would allow them to study religious texts, and writing would enable them to run a household more efficiently.

Thus, it may seem surprising that López de Úbeda would put a pen in Justina's hand for her to tell her story, albeit fictionally. It is very possible that Úbeda, following in the satirical tradition of the picaresque novel, puts the pen in Justina's hands for humoristic reasons. It has been noted that Justina's story follows a hagiographic structure: "el lector de novelas picarescas y conocedor de la literatura hagiográfica puede

[51] As Mujica points out, during the Early Modern Period there was a rise not only in women writers, but also in artists and musicians, such as Artemisia Gentileschi, Christine de Pizan or Maria del Po. In Spain this rise in women writers is especially noticeable in convent writing, an area of Spanish literature that it is still being studied and researched (Mujica xxiii).

comprobar en *La pícara Justina* como los procesos comunes de las vidas de santos no sólo no se cumplen sino que se encuentran parodiados" (Zafra 73). Many women writers of the Early Modern period were in fact nuns who wrote about convent life, mystical experiences and in some cases, the lives of Saints. By giving the pen to Justina, Úbeda is not only satirizing the hagiographic genre, but also he is satirizing women/nun writers. In the prologue, Úbeda himself says: "Si este libro fuera todo de vanidades, no era justo imprimirse. Si fuera todo de santidades, leyéranle muy pocos" (21). This mention of devotional books elucidates Úbeda's satire on writing *La pícara Justina*: he wants to entertain the reader, and he wants his book to be read. And what better way than through a satire of those books that were most recommended by the Church, as pious, virtuous reading. Justina, a prostitute, is not a virtuous woman even if she tries repeatedly to make the reader believe that she is. The situation might even be deemed ridiculous:

> Es la propia Justina la que, en diálogo con el lector –o con objetos-, hace un metadiscurso en el que en definitiva se burla de ese discurso, porque la escritura de un personaje como Justina, es, en realidad, imposible. […] Es precisa una amplia justificación, aunque sea en burla, para justificar lo injustificable; que un personaje de la índole de Justina tome la pluma para escribir su propia vida. (Pérez Venzalá 222)

Úbeda's satire not only exploits the fact that Justina is a marginal member of society with low morals and of a very probable mixed origin. She is also a woman. Úbeda reflects in Justina the perspective of Early Modern society about women writers and their lack of honor and virtue due to their perception as "mujeres libres." Furthermore, as will be seen, there is a tight correlation between text and body in *La pícara Justina*. The text is to be enjoyed and hides markers that will allow the reader to know the truth of its main narrator, Justina. Justina's body, the body of a prostitute, is to be enjoyed, and it also contains within it the markers necessary to "read" it and unlock its subversive aspects.

The text is open to the public: not only Justina's text, but any woman writer's text. If we have in mind this correlation between body and text, it is possible to see how a woman who writes and allows others to read her work would be considered a "public" woman.

From the very beginning, Justina makes clear that women are not able to successfully use the pen because the pen belongs in the hand of a man. She writes in the very first page of text: "¡Ay, pluma mía, pluma mía! ¡Cuán mala sois para amiga, pues mientras más os trato, más a pique estáis de prender en un pelo y borrarlo todo!" (27). Justina calls her pen "mala amiga," a bad friend who will not cooperate with her as she strives to enter into the world of writing, and consequently, the world of men. Even the personified pen seems to abhor the fact that a woman should use it. Justina is also conscious of what writing might do to her honor: "para decir mis yerros, mis tachas y mis manchas, hacéis [señora pluma] lengua de vuestros pelos" (28). Justina personifies the pen and blames it for writing of her errors, mistakes and faults. By personifying the pen, she presents it as an entity that she cannot control and that will oblige her to confess her sins and past blunders. Justina also presents herself as a good, humble woman who is only trying to write her story and whose pen will not work and allow her to put her life into written word. At one moment, her white skirt is dirtied with the dark ink from her unwilling pen: "se me ha entintado la saya blanca de cotonina" (34). This image takes on a deeper meaning when we take into account the difficulties and criticisms that women writers faced during the Early Modern Period. A woman writer was considered a woman without honor in many cases. Justina's white skirt is the honor that has just barely been tainted due to the fact that she has taken hold of a pen. Its ink has stained her skirts as writing will stain her moral character. The stain is not only on her skirts, it is also the

"stains" in her life that her writing, however careful, will uncover: "Que, en fin, para el vestido hay jabón, pero no para la mengua en la fama" (34). Justina recognizes that the physical stain on her dress is easy to clean, but not the stains that the pen will leave on her reputation once she begins her writing. Justina separates herself from male writers when she says: "Mas entended que no pretendo, como otros historiadores, manchar el papel con borrones de mentiras" (28). Justina mocks other writers who have more experience than she does because she believes they do not write the truth. By creating a separation between "I" and "they," Justina insinuates herself as a new type of writer, one that can be trusted precisely because she is different from the others. She is a woman, and that separates her from the other "historiadores."

Justina's difficulties and frustrations on utilizing the pen can also be analyzed from a Lacanian perspective. The image that the play between pen, ink and white skirt (or white paper) produces is imbued with symbols of power and sexuality. The pen as a phallic symbol represents the penis, while the ink represents the semen. Justina's white skirt, or even the white paper where Justina writes, is the female body that the penis stains or dishonors, nodding to Justina's sexual activities. The irony relies in that we have already been able to identify some of Justina's sexual transgressions, made obvious because of the symptoms of syphilis, such as hair loss. Justina's body is not as "white" or pure as she would like us to believe. Her difficulties utilizing the pen illustrate Justina's entrance into the Symbolic, "a stage we enter early in life when we realize our separateness from the Mother, who previously was viewed as being in harmonious and perfect union with us" (Scarlett 12). Language becomes the means through which we can search for what is missing. The Father is the one who rules in this new realm. Justina

enters this realm where the law of the Father becomes the arbitrator in the production of language. As a woman, Justina is not a master of language, but the pen, as a symbol of the phallus, of power, allows Justina to enter the Symbolic. Although the pen is Justina's means to write her story, Justina herself is the Other. She is the writer's, Úbeda, phallus. In his article "The Meaning of the Phallus," Lacan explains how there is a difference between having the phallus and being the phallus. Because the woman is the man's Other, the woman is perceived by man as being the phallus (83). Consequently, man's "own desire for the phallus will throw up its signifier in the form of a persistent divergence towards 'another woman' who can signify this phallus under various guises, whether as a virgin or a prostitute" (Lacan 84). Justina fits this divergence in all aspects, as she fits the representation of both virgin and prostitute: she is a "putidoncella." Úbeda is projecting the phallus in Justina, but he is also demonstrating his own dominion of language, because he is, after all, the real motor behind Justina's words and the reader is aware of this. Furthermore, because Justina is the author's other, it can be concluded that Justina also represents that which the author desires. She is where desire resides. In the context of Justina being an Orientalized prostitute, desire acquires maurophilic dimensions in that the author is attracted to that otherness represented by Justina. However, we also know that the author rejects her deviant behavior, as exposed in the introduction to the book, thus the play between maurophilia and maurophobia becomes apparent in this dynamic.

Justina is conscious of the power that the pen gives her. This power, associated with masculinity, produces in her a "forgetfulness" of her gender: "Mas ¡ay! que se me olvidaba que era mujer, y me llamo Justina" (40). The pen allows her to enter a

masculine discourse and "dress" like a man, doing what men do, in this case, writing. In a way, this is one more manifestation of Justina's identities: her (re)invention as a writer. Writing empowers her, and in a time when women were precisely lacking power writing seems to allow her to forget about her inferior position in society. Some critics, such as Valentín Pérez Venzalá, interpret this moment as a "slip" of the male author, who "dresses" as a woman as he writes the book (209). However, I believe that this moment in which Justina is daydreaming about entering masculine discourse, writing and imagining the possible readers of her book exemplifies the desire of the writer (any writer, male or female) to have his/her book read. The pen and writing give Justina the power and the possibility to make her voice heard. In that moment, when she dreams of entertaining her audience and of having her biography published for all to read, she is empowered. She thus "forgets" her condition as a woman and, consequently, a less recognized member of society. As in the case of other *pícaros*, Justina's apparent wish is to tell the truth of the story of her life: "pienso pintarme tal cual soy, que tan bien se vende una pintura fea, si es con arte, como una muy hermosa y bella" (28), but she also wants to entertain the reader: "Los que pretendieren entretenimiento, tras el gasto hallarán el gusto" (28). As Justina says, she knows that by writing her story she becomes a commodity that can be bought. It is possible to read the correlation between writing and prostitution, text and body in Justina's words. Justina's writing is like her physical body in that it needs to be carefully read in order to arrive at some semblance of truth. Her written text is hermetic, just as her body is hermetic in that it is difficult to ascertain who she really is. The book is written for the entertainment of the reader, and Justina's body is for the entertainment of her client. Justina sells herself the moment she writes her

story and publishes it, becoming available to the public. She is also aware that, just as in prostitution, if the client wants to be entertained, the client needs to pay first. The reader buys the book and he is entertained when delving into the book: it is the same dynamic as the client buying Justina's favors and penetrating her.

In the first two chapters of the book, and before Justina gets into any specifics about her life, there is a dialogue between Justina, the pen and the paper, to which I have already alluded. This dialogue, allegorical at moments, is more than a simple effort on Justina's part to "entertain" the reader. The incongruous and comical image of Justina speaking to her pen and paper becomes a construction in which Justina subversively informs the reader of her occupation as prostitute and the fact that she suffers from venereal diseases. Justina never addresses these issues directly, but just as the text needs to be deciphered, the marks on Justina's body will need to be interpreted in order to learn about Justina's real life.

In the first chapter, called "La melindrosa escribana," Justina diatribes about the difficulties of writing. She describes her pen as a "pluma de pato [que] fue siempre símbolo y figura de amistad inconstante" (27). The pen is, according to this quote, "inconstante," not to be trusted. She also addresses the pen and warns it to be careful about catching one of the hairs that apparently cover the paper on which Justina is writing. To the hair, Justina says "En fin, señor pelo, no me dejáis escribir" (27). The scene is strange, as Justina does not directly say to whom that hair belongs. However, as she writes, the reader is able to unravel the truth behind the scene: the hair belongs to Justina. As a matter of fact, Justina is going bald. Justina describes herself as "Pícara, Pobre, Poca vergüenza, Pelona y Pelada" (32). The adjectives "pelona" and "pelada"

make reference to her baldness. Justina also says that "los pelos que de ordinario traigo sobre mí andan más sobre su palabra que sobre mi cabeza" (29). Justina makes another reference here to her hair loss by stating that the hair that should have been on her head is now on the piece of paper on which she is writing. It may seem that Justina is simply describing aspects of old age. However, loss of hair and baldness were a sign of syphilis. Justina calls her condition "pelona francesa" (29). There is again a reference to her baldness, but the adjective, "francesa," unmistakably refers to syphilis which was called at this time "el mal francés." It is certain that the Early Modern reader was aware of this condition and the implications of the reference to France. It was common for men and women alike to use wigs in order to hide their baldness, and, at the same time, conceal their disease.[52] There is no doubt that Justina's loss of hair is a sign of her syphilitic condition. Edward Friedman explains that "the obsession with hair illustrates the inevitable suffering from sins of the past, as her crowning glory falls prey to syphilis" (87). These signs of venereal disease, however, are not enough on their own to conclude that Justina is a prostitute.

In her description of herself, she picks words that start with "p": "porque quien me ha dado seis nombres de P conviene a saber […] ¿qué he de esperar, sino que como la pluma tiene la P dentro de su casa y el alquiler pagado, me ponga algún otro nombre de P que me eche a puertas?"(32). Justina says that she has been given six names that start with a P. She also warns that pen ("pluma") starts with P as well, and the pen has the

[52] In the picaresque novel *Teresa de Manzanares*, the protagonist starts a business making wigs for both men and women who suffer from hair loss. Teresa's portrayal as *pícara* is not racialized, as it is the case of the *pícaras* studied in this project. However, Teresa does manage to become a subversive member of society when she helps others hide their condition as syphilitic patients. Celestina's occupation as "remienda virgos" allows her to subvert patriarchal mores and rules. Teresa, like Celestina, subverts society's expectations when she "fixes" the markers that society can read as a transgression on virtue. Teresa hides that which lust/sin has corrupted.

power to give her one more name that would stain her reputation. The names are: "Pícara, Pobre, Poca vergüenza, Pelona y Pelada" (32). There are five of them. Where is the sixth? Although only the pen knows, the curious reader can easily guess it. Justina avoids mentioning the most expected epithet that starts with a "P": "puta" (Zafra 83). The omission of the word only makes it more present in the mind of the reader, especially when taking into account the insinuation that the "pen" could somehow influence others to make a connection Justina/puta. As for the venereal disease, it could be argued that Justina, married various times, as the reader will find out, had contracted the disease from one of her husbands rather than in the world of prostitution. However, there are other markers in the text that clearly point out to Justina's occupation.

The introduction to the book titled "La melindrosa escribana," is divided into three sections. The first one is called "Del melindre al pelo de la pluma," the second "Del melindre a la mancha," and the third "Del melindre a la culebrilla." At first, it may seem that these section titles are simply a summary of the topics treated in the section. On a closer look, these headings help to decipher the meaning behind Justina's work. The first title, "Del melindre al pelo de la pluma" seems to make reference to the hair that the pen encounters on the paper and creates trouble for Justina when writing. She references her difficulties in even utilizing the gadget itself: she cannot make it work to her own wishes.[53] Justina is conscious that she needs to establish a dialogue with the pen in order to enter masculine discourse and find a place within it: "Mas ya querréis decirme, pluma mía, que el pelo de vuestros puntos está llamando a la puerta y al cerrojo de las amargas memorias de mi pelona francesa" (29). The pen is the only means for her to tell her

[53] Justina, in her efforts to write, is trying to enter masculine discourse, the realm of the Symbolic, but she cannot do this unless she is able to "dominate" the pen (penis/power). The pen is the tool through which she can produce language and communicate with the reader. It is her means of entering the Symbolic.

"bitter memories." She recognizes the complications that she encounters when trying to put it to use: she is entering a space unknown to her where language will allow her to tell her story, but also, a space controlled by the law of the Father. Patriarchal law may bring her those "bitter memories" of her transgressions.

In the following section of "La melindrosa escribana," the identification of pen and phallus becomes even more pronounced. The section is titled "Del melindre a la mancha." A literal reading of the section explains the title: while trying to remove some stray hairs from the paper and write with the pen, Justina's fingers are stained with the ink, and as she tries to clean her fingers, her white skirts are dirtied: "juro como mujer de bien, a lo menos, como mujer de buenos, que por quitar la mancha del dedo se me ha entintado la saya blanca de cotonina, puesta de hoy" (34). This image suggests the role of women and literacy in the Early Modern Period. If the woman's intellect was deemed inferior to that of man, then works produced by a woman were regarded as of little worth. The woman writer faced ridicule and criticism, to the point of being considered a "public woman," effectively a prostitute, which correlates with the idea of text as body for gratification and consumption. Justina's stain on her skirt would be the "mark" that women writers lived with. María de Zayas is one of the women writers of the Early Modern period that denounces the situation of women in her time: [54]

> ¿Por qué, vanos legisladores del mundo, atáis nuestras manos para las venganzas, imposibilitando nuestras fuerzas con vuestras falsas opiniones, pues nos negáis letras y armas? Yo os aseguro que si entendiérais que también había en nosotras valor y fortaleza, no os burlaráis como os burláis; y así, por tenernos sujetas desde

[54] María de Zayas was born in Madrid (year unknown) and published her work during the first half of the 17th Century (Olivares 11). Her commentaries on the situation of women during her lifetime are of special interest because they speak of the situation of women through the perception of a woman. María de Zayas was one of the few women writers who was able to procure a name for herself and to become relatively well known in Early Modern Spain. She was praised by authors such as Lope de Vega and Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (Olivares 14).

> que nacemos, vais enflaqueciendo nuestras fuerzas con los temores de la honra, y el entendimiento con el recato de la vergüenza, dándonos por espadas ruecas y por libros almohadillas. (Olivares 54)

In this quote, María de Zayas emphasizes the ridicule that women writers suffered, as well as the dire consequences for women who strived to procure themselves with an education. Zayas makes reference to education through the image of the book, and to power through the image of the sword. Power and education were off limits to Early Modern women, who were obligated to perform those skills deemed appropriate for them, such as household chores. Zayas also points out that women can be valiant and strong, and accuses patriarchal society of making women the passive vessels of the honor of men. A woman who does not comply with societal rules, becomes "marked," just as Justina is stained with the ink from her pen. This interpretation would fall within a proto-feminist framework. However, the question that comes to mind is, why would Úbeda argue from this proto-feminist standpoint?

A second interpretation of this section brings further evidence that Justina is not as chaste as she wants the reader to believe and corroborates Justina's venereal diseases as well as her occupation as prostitute. If the pen is acting as a direct metaphor for the penis, then Justina's white skirts symbolize her honor and virtue. The pen/penis has left a mark on Justina. The fact that the "stain" is left on Justina's skirts, an article of clothing directly associated with women, becomes even more significant. Justina says that her skirt is white and new, both adjectives that are directly associated with virginity, innocence and virtue. The ink from the pen has left a stain both on her body (finger), and her skirts, that cannot be removed, even if Justina employs all tactics possible to eliminate it: "¡Ay! ¡Ay! ¡Por el siglo del buen Diego Díez, mi padre, que he mojado tres

veces el dedo con saliva en ayunas y no quiere salir la mancha! Demonio es la negra tinta" (34). Justina tries repeatedly to remove the stain, but the stain is stubborn and refuses to disappear. Justina compares the ink from the pen to the Devil himself, and later on she furthers the analogy by comparing the ink to a snake that needs to be killed (34). Justina's comparisons associate the ink/stain with the Devil/snake. This religious reference alludes the Garden of Eden, and the role of the snake as tempter. The colors utilized in this image also play a role: the black ink is a stark contrast to the white skirts. There is a dichotomy of black and white, evil and good, temptation and virtue. The temptation, due to the correlation of pen-penis, skirt-female virginity, becomes one of a sexual nature. Justina, although she seems to project herself into the reader's mind as a virtuous woman who happens to have lived a lot, the text that she writes contains sufficient information for the reader to come to a different conclusion than the one Justina would like the reader to accept as true. It is also telling that Justina, as she explains what is happening with the ink stain, remarks: "juro como mujer de bien, a lo menos, como mujer de buenos" (34). "Mujer de bien" makes reference to honor and virtue, and she swears as an honorable, virtuous woman. However, she immediately makes a subtle but significant change in her description of herself, from "honorable woman" to a "good woman." Perhaps Justina's honor and virtue is not as unquestionnable as she would like the reader to believe. At the end of the section, Justina says: "¿Qué puede haber sido el haberme manchado, lo primero con los dedos, y lo segundo con el vestido, sino un pronóstico y figura de lo que me ha de suceder acerca de mi libro, si ya no me ha sucedido?" (36). Justina interprets her stain as a sign of bad luck. Writing will only bring Justina a stain on her honor and misfortune. This passage can also be interpreted as

a foreshadowing of Justina's real life and occupation, that of prostitution. This discovery would bring her, of course, the loss of her honor.

The third section in the introduction, titled "Del melindre a la culebrilla," continues the image of the snake introduced in the second section, but changes it to "culebrilla," a smaller, innocuous snake. The chapter makes more comments about the inability and the limitation of women when trying to produce literature or writing, and also it comments on the lack of intelligence in women. Justina goes back to her paper, and upon looking into it, she is terrified because she believes she sees a snake on the page. She is so overwhelmed that she goes so far as to call the snake a dragon: "Buena sea la hora en que nombré culebra, pues veo con mis ojos lo que con la boca nombré. Mas, ¿si es dragón? […] Mas, ¡qué boba soy! Que no es cosa viva, sino culebra pintada en el papel, que llaman de culebrilla" (37). The dragon, of course, is another representation of Satan in the Bible. Justina continues the image of the snake that she had started in the previous section, but in this one, the sexual connotation is overlaid by other meanings. In this section, the temptation, rather of being of a sexual nature, makes reference to the temptation of writing and the consequences of it. Justina follows the train of thought of the last section and remarks: "Mas, ¿de qué temo? ¿Qué me acobarda? Ya pensará alguno que soy agorera y tengo tanto de esto como de ermitaña. ¿Es posible que la culebra sólo anuncia males, y sólo es tablilla de malas mensajerías? No lo creo. No hay animal cuyas propiedades en todo y por todo sean tan malignas" (38). Justina once more expresses her fear of what her writing might do to her reputation. She even compares herself to a fortune teller (agorera), a witch and also a marginalized member of her world. She sees in the snake not only temptation, but also an omen of bad things to

come since the snake is associated with evil and negativity. Another association of the snake is the correlation snake-woman. Again, going back to Christian and Judaic traditions, the woman falls to the temptation of the snake and becomes the culprit of the fall of Adam. There is, then, a correlation between woman and snake, in which the woman is portrayed as weak of character, as a seductress and as the reason for Adam's fall. One of the questions that most preoccupied philosophers and scholars was: "Is woman a human being?" (Cammarata 1). Because of their supposedly lower intellect and their different body, women were deemed inferior and perhaps not completely human. Consequently, they would enter within the animal category. Justina identifies herself with the snake, and reminds that, although she may seem dangerous or frightening, she also has something good to offer. Even women writers, like Justina, may be able to bring something good and entertaining in their writing.

Justina continues to speak of the "culebrilla" for the remainder of the chapter. She maintains that the snake in Greek tradition is the symbol of "prudencia, astucia y sabiduría" (39). With this observation, Justina emphasizes that we may perceive certain things as negative or even evil, only to discover that they might actually do some good. The correlation between the snake and the woman writer comes to mind again: even if women writers are perceived in a negative manner, they might bring some good as well. Justina remarks: "Pues con esto entenderán los que en vos vieren mis obras que no les quiero dar pena, sino buenas nuevas, como el dios Mercurio" (40). Justina explains how her purpose in writing about her life is to bring good feelings to the reader, not bad ones. She compares her work to the work of the god Mercury, who is bearer of good and bad news alike, not to the god of trade and the protector of thieves. Justina is a trickster and a

thief, and utilizes her body as merchandise. But this quote does emphasize the ludic character of the book: Justina wants to entertain, she wants to be the bearer of "good news." The image of the snake that is carried through this section is a reminder, however, that the reader needs to use wisdom and be astute when reading, in order to find the figurative meaning behind the words.

Justina, prostitute in her younger years and now writer, starts to tell the story of her life after this brief introduction. Justina's voice is constantly under the scrutiny of the narrator, who, in all appearances, is a male voice. The male voice materializes at the end of every section offering a moralizing commentary on Justina's writing. Edward Friedman points out that "While the author has the last word in each section, Justina has the major voice, even if it's not entirely her own" (88). Justina's voice seems to come to the reader without the filters of other narrators. However, her writing is always framed by the masculine voice. Each chapter begins with a short lyrical poem, not written by Justina. This poem usually contains satirical undertones that announce the content of the chapter. The chapter ends with an "Aprovechamiento," again, not written by Justina. The "Aprovechamiento" establishes the voice of the male narrator as the real authority, with comments such as "No hay perdición ni libertad cuyo principio y fomento no sea la demasiada parlería" (55) or "los males crecen a palmos, pues esta mujer, la cual la primera vez que salió de su casa tomó achaque de que iba a romería, ahora la segunda vez, sale sin otro fin ni ocasión más que gozar su libertad" (117). In these "Aprovechamientos" it is possible to sense the criticism toward Justina and her actions, while establishing the male voice as superior and more moral than Justina's. Justina's words may seem to flow freely, but they do not. Just as women are relegated to the

private space of the home, and pulled away from any type of public life, Justina's words are enclosed between poems and "Aprovechamientos," unable to break away from the moralizing judgments of the author. Again, as Justina enters the realm of language, the realm of the Symbolic, it is the narrator/author who voices the Law of the Father and who makes moralizing judgments on Justina's behavior.

It is left to the curious reader to delve into Justina's words in order to uncover Justina's secrets. Writing is like the snake that she sees on the paper: it is deceptive. What she thought at first to be dangerous was nothing more than a harmless scribble. Appearances are deceiving. Justina does not live the pious, virtuous life expected of an Early Modern woman, but she strives for the reader to believe that she, although a sinner, has lived a virtuous life. She is the one who tricks the trickster, and she shows over and over again wit and intelligence in her efforts to survive and procure for herself the best life possible. Part of her chameleonic nature stems from her blood of mixed heritage, a hybridity that allows the writer to present Justina as deviant and deceitful. The "culebrilla" is a metaphor of Justina's life as told by herself: it is not what it seems.

The Racialized *Pícara*: Body as Text

Once Justina begins to tell her story, she starts at the point where most *pícaros* do: writing about her genealogy and the origins of her name and family. The genealogy of her family is introduced in the first book, "La pícara Montañesa." Justina approaches the description of her genealogy as an obligation, a task that she must perform in order to comply with the picaresque tradition: "Mas, ¿qué hago? ¿Historias de linaje, y linaje propio, he de escribir? ¿Quién creerá que no he de decir más mentiras que letras?" (51).

Justina's questions demonstrate that she feels it is an obligation for her to tell of her family, and warns that, although she had promised to be truthful, on this account she may actually lie. Genealogy may have seemed a logical and harmless exercise, but Justina questions it. Considering the context of seventeenth century Spain and the emphasis put on purity of blood and having a genealogy free of *converso* ancestry, Justina's reticence is more than understandable: she has something to hide. As she herself says when writing about her job in her parents' inn, "nunca digais que vuestra ropa no es limpia, que en España es cosa afrentosa" (63). Justina is speaking of white bed sheets, but her words have a double-meaning. Justina refers to the obsession with purity of blood that Spain experienced in these moments, and she asks for secrecy, in case one's "clothes" or body is not "clean" or free of non-Christian blood. This image also resonates with Justina's despair upon dirtying her skirts and the stain left in them. Not only can this stain make reference to her virginity, it also references her "stained" genealogy.

In Early Modern Spain, it became necessary to be able to prove the purity of one's blood through documentation. Intermarriage was even seen as a way of ensuring that converts would truthfully convert to Christianity and in the process alleviate any interracial tensions or perceptions of difference (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 128). In order to avoid expulsion, many Jews and Muslims forged their genealogies and created a new origin for themselves in order to pass as "Old Christians."[55] Justina winks at the reader when she mentions that if she is obligated to write about her genealogy, she might include more lies than letters in her writing. She is forging her own genealogy and it will be up to the reader to discover exactly what she is communicating and what she is hiding.

[55] Moriscos who had converted to Christianity before forced conversions and expulsions could claim the status of "cristiano viejo" (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation* 128).

Justina begins with her father's genealogy. Of her father she says that "Nació mi padre en un pueblo que llaman Castillo de la Luna, en el condado de Luna" (53). Of the ancestry of her father, Justina says that they were working men (all of them worked in entertainment), who happened to die in peculiar ways. Her great great grandfather dies burned by the sun. After being in a fight, he is left without teeth. His occupation is that of a magician, and he needs to speak in order to perform his tricks. He realizes that he is unable to communicate, unless he does so in Arabic: "más que si las tropelías fueran arábigas" (55). This realization causes him to run away to a farm, where "el sol de Guadalupe, como le vio un día en una higuera redondito, arrugado y negro, pensó que era higo pollino y pasole de esta vida a la otra" (55). According to Justina he dies burned in the sun. However, this passage also leads us to think of the bonfires of an Auto-da-fé. As Pérez Venzalá elucidates: "Autorreconocerse converso y a pesar de ello fingirse o jugar a ser noble, es, en definitiva lo que hace Justina […] Justina nos hablará de un abuelo suyo quemado por el sol de Guadalupe" (216). This mention of the city of Guadalupe is a direct reference to the Auto-da-fé that took place in this city in 1485 (Bataillon 33). Most of those who perished in an Auto-da-fé were of *converso* origin. Justina herself also references her lack of knowledge of Christian religious customs: "según yo sabía poco de iglesia, no me acordaba si caía el jueves Santo en agosto" (121). It is highly improbable that a devout Catholic would forget the dates in which Holy Thursday is celebrated. Judaism celebrates Passover the same week that Christianity celebrates Easter. Even if Justina were a *conversa*, she should know the likely date for a Holy Thursday. This raises a question: Is Justina of Jewish descent?

Justina's genealogy on her father's side is obviously mixed with non-Christian blood. There is a general tendency to interpret Justina's heritage to be of Jewish origin, as shown in the previous paragraph, especially due to the references to Guadalupe and the Auto-da-fé. Other markers in the text point to this theory. For instance, Friedman says that Justina "plays on the verb *confesar*, to confess, and her status as *confesa*, converted Jew, to synthesize the writing process with its social implications" (86). This play on words can be observed when Justina says: "por tanto confesar no me llaman confesa" (29). There is also the fact that it is believed that Úbeda was of *converso* origins (Damiani 18). The problem with relying on Úbeda's supposed ethnic background is that there is very little known about this author. Unlike Francisco Delicado, whose Jewishness weaves itself in the pages of *La Lozana andaluza*, showing Judaic customs and culture, as well as life in exile, Úbeda uses the stereotypes of ethnic minorities as a means of entertainment and laughter. Having in mind that doubts have been raised about *La pícara Justina*'s authorship, Úbeda's supposed ancestry should be taken into account, but not be used as evidence of Justina's ancestry.

More evidence of Justina's *converso* origins is found on her mother's side. Of her mother's ancestry, Justina says "Los parientes de parte de mi madre son cristianos más conocidos, que no hay niño que no se acuerde de cuando se quedaron en España, por amor que tomaron a la tierra y las muestras que dieron de cristianos, y con qué gracia respondían al cura a cuanto les preguntaba" (55). Justina's comment about "cristianos más conocidos" makes references to New Christians, ethnic minorities forced to convert to Christianity. Justina explains how they remained in Spain because they loved the land and studied and converted to Christianity rather than being exiled. Pérez Venzalá

remarks that this is a reference to the expulsion of the Jews (216). However, there is nothing more in Justina's writing that points to her mother's Jewish ancestry. Considering that the Jews were not the only ethnic group that was forced to convert and to be exiled from the Iberian Peninsula, it remains a possibility that Justina's ancestors were of Islamic origin. As a matter of fact, Justina implies that the conversions happened not very long ago. The first wave of expulsions and forced conversions of Muslims happened in the year 1502, and *La pícara Justina* is written only a few years before the final expulsion in 1609. This date, more recent than the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, connects her more logically to the conversion of Muslims.

I believe that Úbeda actually plays with different ethnic origins when he places Justina's father's origin in the town of Castillo de la Luna. The references to a Judaic origin are clear in Justina's writing, but there are also references to a possible Islamic origin. Castillo makes a direct allusion to Castile, Spain, and to the Castilian language besides being a visual image and representation of the power of the Christian lords. The second part of the town's nomenclature, Luna, makes a very precise reference to Islam. The symbol of the crescent moon is by far one of the most recognizable of the Arab world. Justina's father is born in a town that bears a name composed of both a Christian and an Arabic element: a hybrid place with a hybrid name inhabited by a people of mixed origins. Furthermore, the occupations of Justina's ancestors on her father's side, have to do with entertaining and making believe. If Úbeda is indeed playing with stereotypes, the Jewish people were commonly known in Early Modern Spain for being merchants and businessmen (albeit greedy), while the Arabs suffered the stereotype of lying and

pretending.[56] Justina's family comes from a long line of entertainers. It is possible to see maurophobic tendencies in the description of Justina's family, since the whole family acts as an entertaining (and laughable) element in the lives of others: "El resto de sus antepasados también han ejercido oficios relacionados con la diversión o con la burla, de forma que su abolengo se divide en el parlero y el festivo" (Perez Venzalá 207). Justina follows on the footsteps of her ancestors when she sets herself to write a book for entertaining her readers. It is important to note that her great great grandfather, the one who was burned in the Auto-da-fé, works as a magician, a profession attributed to ethnic minorities in an effort to vilify them and demonize them.[57] The occupations of her ancestors would identify them as having a connection to *moriscos*.

Conversa and perhaps even *morisca*, Justina is a hybrid subject. She would fall within Homi Bhabha's description of a colonial subject as being "a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (122). Justina falls under this category. She is "almost the same," she can pass as Christian, or at least pretend to be one, but there are markers that distinguish her from an Old Christian. Those who are preoccupied with the fantasy of a homogenous nation prefer this type of "colonial subject" because those markers of difference allow for a separation between colonizer and colonized. They are same, but different enough that the colonizer is able to distinguish between the two. This is the situation in Spain at this time. Spain as a nation wants a homogenous (Christian, white, Western/European) society, but it is still important to be able to "read" those

[56] This perception was in part due to the law of the *Taqiyya*, a Koranic law by which the Muslim can practice the religion of the enemy if he were to be forced. He is not considered to have rejected Islam as long as he continues honoring it in his heart. This ambivalence was a factor is portraying Muslims as liars and not worthy of trust.

[57] In her short story, "El castigo de la miseria," María de Zayas plays with the idea of ethnic minorities as magicians and entertainers, mixing exotic imagery with demonizing elements such as "azufre" or the invocation of demons (Zayas 285). It was a common topos in the last years of the Early Modern Period to connect the exotic other with dark magic and demonic practices.

markers (Muslim, Jew, racial difference) that would denounce someone as being an outsider.

Justina's mixed blood gives her beauty and an advantage. Justina is described by the narrator as "mujer de raro ingenio, feliz memoria, amorosa y risueña, de buen cuerpo, talle y brío; ojos zarcos, pelinegra, nariz aguileña y color moreno" (24). Her features could definitely be called exotic with unusual colored eyes, dark hair and dark skin. She is definitely described as beautiful and alluring with an attractive body and an appealing face. Her aquiline nose also fits within the parameters of exotic beauty. Not only are her physical attributes alluring, her personality is described as being pleasant and entertaining. She is a charmer, as one of her clients tells her: "A lo menos, si vos no sois cantadera, tenéis gesto de encantadera" (127). Beauty, however, is not the only feature that stems from Justina's hybridity. The mixture of blood allows her to pass herself as both Christian or of Middle-Eastern descent, subverting the fantasy of a homogenous society. Justina says that there was a time in which "estaba en mi mano ser blanca o negra, morena o rubia, alegre o triste, hermosa o fea, diosa o sin días" (33). Justina, thanks to her mixed blood, can negotiate her identity according to necessity. Her hybridity gives her the tool to reinvent herself and be white or dark-skinned, beautiful or ugly, according to the circumstances. This quality of Justina will be seen in the book as she tricks others into believing she is somebody else, but it becomes most apparent when she makes herself pass for the daughter of a dying *morisca*, an episode that will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Justina is presented indirectly to the reader through a racialized lens. Justina's life is not an exiled life like Lozana's, who lives within a displaced community that maintains

Jewish customs and traditions among its members. Justina is representative of those who, after centuries of life in the Iberian Peninsula, stayed behind. Úbeda is able to give Justina attributes such as freedom of movement and an active sexuality because she is of a mixed heritage. In the Iberian Christian imaginary, Moors were considered to be liars, their women lewd, and Jews greedy. Justina personifies all these qualities: she lies and tricks, she is a prostitute, and she constantly worries about her material gains. Because Justina is constructed as a minority, and moreover as a woman, she is doubly marginalized. This marginalization allows the narrator to present her in a deviant light, describe her improper actions and use her for amusement, because she is only, after all, a *conversa*.

Justina's behavioral deviations from the ideal of Christian woman include freedom of movement and sexuality. Justina travels often, although never far from her place of birth, Mansilla. Her travels are limited to the province of León and its surrounding areas. Her sexuality is not as blatant as Lozana's, but her occupation is definitely that of prostitution. The town's name, Mansilla, is also a play on words. Reminiscent of the verb "mancillar," to stain, and the noun "mancilla," stain, Mansilla references Justina's dishonorable occupation as a prostitute. It also alludes to Justina's impure blood. Like Lozana, Justina is interested in making financial gain and strives to make the most of each situation that she finds herself in, in order to earn some money. Justina's attitude toward money could be read as a form of early capitalism. As Friedman remarks, "the protagonist liberates herself from the dictates of society to pursue monetary rewards" (87). Her marginalized situation gives Justina the advantage that she does not need to tailor herself to an ideal of womanhood. She is free to do as she wishes, and her

ethnic background gives her the advantage of being able to reinvent herself according to her needs and circumstances. She can be part of one group or part of another, according to how she sees fit.

Referring to her freedom of movement, Justina gives a description of what a *pícara* is like, including herself in the definition: "una pícara, una libre, una pieza suelta, hecha dama a puro andar de casa en casa como peón de ajedrez, que todo es de provecho, sino es el unto del moscardón. Los que pretendieren entretenimiento, tras el gasto hallarán el gusto" (28). Here Justina emphasizes the freedom of the *pícara*, the fact that the *pícara* is "loose," which may seem disadvantageous, but gives her the freedom to do as she wishes. The *pícara*, according to Justina, becomes a lady. Although the *pícara* has little of her own, she is able to earn a living by visiting various households and creating financial security for herself. The "andar de casa en casa" description echoes the occupation of proto-*pícaras* such as Trotaconventos and Celestina, who go from house to house offering their services as matchmakers. The *pícara* instead of staying within the private space of the home, travels the public space and enters the households of others. Celestina was known as well for being an old prostitute. Justina references this occupation by mentioning that those who search for entertainment and pleasure, need to pay first. Justina's description of the *pícara* encompasses three elements that would be frowned upon if, for instance, a Christian woman were to pursue them: freedom of movement, sexuality and a want for pecuniary gain.

Every time that she begins one of her travels, Justina alone makes the decision to leave and acts upon it. She does not need to give explanations to anyone: "se me puso en la cabeza salir de aldeana y montañesa y dar de súbito en ciudadana. Resolvime en dar

una pavonada en la ciudad de León, por ver si se me pegaba en ella algo de lo civil, ya que de lo criminal yo era maestra" (113). It would seem that Justina travels for the pleasure of traveling, learning, and seeing new places. In this case, Justina decides to leave her hometown because word of her wittiness has spread and she is seldom left alone. It may very well be that she is unable to trick anyone anymore (or to bed anyone anymore) because she is now renowned. Regardless of her reasons for leaving, she makes the decision on her own and leaves the small town for the big city in search of new victims to trick, without leaving notice of her departure. She takes full advantage of her freedom.

As for Justina's sexuality, the reader knows that she is sexually active because of her references to syphilis. *La pícara Justina*, however, does not revel in descriptions of sexual encounters as *La Lozana andaluza* does. In the prologue, Úbeda warns that "no es mi intención ni hallarás que he pretendido contar amores al tono del libro de Celestina; antes, si bien lo miras, he huido de eso totalmente porque siempre que de eso trato voy a la ligera, no contando lo que pertenece a la materia de deshonestidad" (21). Úbeda makes it clear that he is not going to dwell on love and sex, but that he is going to concentrate on Justina's tricks and adventures. Jannine Montauban explains that "de acuerdo con las advertencias del Prólogo, la novela cumple con no describir los abusos venéreos de la protagonista, pero se complace en evidenciar sus consecuencias" (86). The reader may not get to entertain himself with Justina's sexual adventures, but he is shown the consequences of Justina's sexual encounters, even if the writing does not directly describe these encounters. Instead, the author utilizes Justina's deviations, not to show them explicitly, but to warn men of the consequences of inmorality: "el autor pone

en conocimiento del lector-hombre las burlas, los engaños, las seducciones y los abusos a las que éstos se ven expuestos a través de la risa, lo cual no provoca amenaza sino que los consolida en su posición de poder" (Zafra 85). Úbeda is able to entertain, and while entertaining, to warn men of the consequences of becoming involved with women like Justina.

One of the episodes that demonstrate that Justina is indeed sexually active occurs on the eve of her wedding night. While she acts the part of the blushing bride, she demonstrates her cunning and knowledge when she finds herself facing the wedding night. She explains that: "Yo también quisiera hacer algunos melindricos a este tono y llorar de vergüenza de ver que había de dormir con un hombre" (247). She would like to be able to act like a maiden, but instead she approaches the wedding night in a very pragmatic way. While her groom is playing cards, Justina takes the precautions necessary so that she appears to be a virgin: "Yo bien sabía mi entereza y que mi virginidad daría de sí la señal honrosa, esmaltando las corrientes rubíes la blanca plata de las sábanas nupciales; pero sabiendo algunos engaños y malas suertes que han sucedido a mozas honradas, me previne" (247). She does not say that she is not a virgin, but she does make sure that the white sheets will be stained with blood after sexual intercourse. Justina is basically acting as Celestina. Her role during her wedding night is that of a "remiendavirgos," and the virginity that she is mending is her own. She is a "putidoncella" (Zafra 79). As Zafra explains, "en el ejemplo de la noche de bodas ella afirma una cosa, su virginidad, y luego deja entender lo contrario indroduciendo el 'pero,' porque a pesar de reiterar su estado virginal, irónicamente está negándolo al prevenirse" (79). Justina might try to trick the reader into believing that she has arrived to her

wedding bed untouched, but the precautions that she takes and the knowledge that she has in order to trick her husband point to the opposite.

There have been some discrepancies on whether Justina is a virgin or not when she marries. Friedman for instance maintains that Justina is a virgin: "Justina's body is a selling point, but not for sale; she takes men's money and escapes before they can abuse her. On her wedding night, she laments her lack of education in the wifely duties and faces the nuptial couch with a certain degree of modesty" (Friedman 93). The problem I find with this statement is that Justina does not seem to have a lack of education. She makes sure that the proof needed to ascertain her virginity and honor is left on the sheets. The connection with Celestina, a subversive element that "returns" women their virginity is too great to ignore. In considering her life as a trickster, it should be noted that Justina continues her ways into her marriage: she tricks her husband into believing that she is a maiden. It is also necessary to have in mind the fact that Justina was an inn worker, a *mesonera*. In Early Modern Literary tradition, inn workers have been directly connected to prostitution. Some of the most famous examples appear in *Don Quijote de la Mancha,* where Maritornes, an ugly *mesonera*, makes some money on the side sleeping with the inn's clients.

In the introductory chapters, Justina mentions "las manchas de la vida picaresca" (28-29). The stain is a motif that repeats itself in Justina's life. First we read of the dark ink mark on her finger, then on her white skirts as she attempts to write, and later we read of the red stain on white sheets that announces the loss of her supposed virginity. These stains are left by her way of life. Symbolically, they represent her sexual deviance from societal mores. By living the picaresque lifestyle, Justina cannot avoid being "stained"

with sin and transgression. Those stains also reinforce her hybrid origin: the whiteness "stained" with blood and darkness, a mixture that makes Justina a woman capable of entertaining the reader and of surviving on her own while procuring her own monetary gain. Her racialized roots will allow her to change identities and to reinvent herself according to the circumstances.

The Chameleonic *Pícara*: Negotiation of Identity and Maurophobia

Justina's racialization requires her to negotiate her identity in a world where proving one's Christianity was the everyday norm. Although Orientalized, Justina is able to thrive and utilizes her wit and her speech to be successful. Justina negotiates her identity, becoming what she needs to be at the most opportune moments, in order (always) to increase her material gain. The titles of the different sections of *La pícara Justina* already introduce the different identities or faces of Justina. First, she is La pícara montañesa, in the section in which she tells of her first escapades from her hometown. The adjective "montañesa" might even be deemed ironic, since obviously Justina's ancestry is of mixed blood, but in Early Modern Spain it was believed that people from the mountains were the ones without mixture of blood. From "montañesa" she changes to "romera" when she decided to go to the city of León as a pilgrim. Her identity changes from girl from the mountains, to "pious" pilgrim.

Justina makes the decision to go to León as a pilgrim. Her knowledge of religious traditions, however, is lacking, and perhaps Justina is not so much going as a "romera," pilgrim, as she is as a "ramera," whore. As Enriqueta Zafra elucidates, Justina falls under the popular belief of "ir de romera y volver ramera" (78). This saying stems from the fact

that many women who set out on pilgrimages ended up providing sexual favors for male pilgrims. This dichotomy between the good woman (romera) and the bad woman (ramera) is another example of the extended metaphor of Justina's writing: things are just not what they seem. "Romero" is believed to have its origin in pilgrimages to Rome. In the previous chapter, Lozana's Rome is directly associated with the Christian church, but also with prostitution, as "la gran ramera:" "Roma putana, símbolo de la ramera a la vez que cabeza del catolicismo" (Zafra 120). The binarism of the romera/ramera play on words exemplifies "the sublime love whose institutional seat was Rome and that was ascribed to the pilgrim, the good wife, and Mary, versus the concupiscent love that characterized the whore, the imperfect wife, and their moral predecessor Eve" (Dopico Black 84). Considering Justina's mixed ancestry, her pretension of being a pilgrim on a religious pilgrimage can also be construed a means of mocking the prevalent religion. Justina does not have any religious inclinations, and we know that Justina considers herself a free woman: she will not be told what to do, or when to do it. She acts of her own accord as long as she can reap pecuniary rewards, and prostitution allows her to do exactly that. As promised, Úbeda does not show any graphic descriptions of Justina's occupation, but the reader can see the real reason for her trip to León. When Justina arrives to León's main cathedral, she finds a woman by the door who "se desmantó a sí, y me enmantó a mí" (157). Basically, she takes Justina under her wing. The name by which the woman is known, "Fulana de la Puerta," says everything. Fulana is utilized in the same manner as "Jane Doe," but it also can mean "prostitute." The narrator also leaves hints as to what it is that Justina is doing in León, such as:

> Hácese bobilla la del penseque,
> y no mira cosa que no penetre. (125)

According to the narrator, Justina plays dumb, but she is only interested on anything (or and implied "anyone") that will penetrate her: a potential client. The narrator winks at the reader, warning him that Justina may seem innocent, but she is looking for someone that she can have sex with, and, of course, earn her money. From *pícara romera*/*ramera*, Justina becomes *La pícara pleitista*, and then *La pícara novia* when she is to be married to her first husband. Again, these are other identities that she assumes, and in both cases monetary gain comes into play. It is during the episode of "La pícara pleitista" that Justina's chameleonic traits are the most noticeable.

During the episode of "La pícara pleitista," Justina's siblings try to take away from her the money that is rightfully hers after her parents' death. Justina does not go into specifics on why her siblings want to disown her, other than jealousy and selfishness on their part. Considering that this happens right after she returns from León, perhaps Justina is not telling the reader everything behind her siblings' behavior, who "siempre salían con decirme que yo era libre y pieza suelta" (206). The question of her free and libertine behavior seems to be the real reason why her siblings won't allow her to inherit her part of the money. Jealousy, however, seems to also play a role, since Justina returns from León with more money than when she left: "me olían dama y orgullosa de condición, y no podían llevar mis cosas" (207). Her stay in León has obviously been rewarding as far as money goes, and her siblings both brothers and sisters, do not take kindly her newfound fortune. It is very possible, that, after all, they know how she amassed it.

Justina complains to the authorities, but she is condemned to be "desheredada" (208). When this happens, she makes the decision to travel to Rioseco to find legal aid to

solve her problems with her siblings and gain control of her inheritance. As she waits to bring her case into the courts, her money dwindles and she finds herself in the position of needing to earn some more. It is then that she begins to live with an old *morisca*: "entré a competir con el mar de una morisca vieja, hechicera, experta, bisagüela de Celestina" (216). The *morisca* fits within the stereotype of the Muslim convert during the years prior to and after their final expulsion in 1609. As a matter of fact, Justina directly calls the old woman "morisca inconquistada" (216), referencing her resistance to assimilation. Justina tells us that the old woman practices dark magic, that she is the great grandmother of Celestina, that she does not believe in Christianity and does not practice it at home, and that she "temía casarse con quien la hiciese ser cristiana" (216), alluding to forced conversions. Mary Elizabeth Perry explains that old women, among them Christians and converts alike, utilized homemade remedies for sicknesses and other ailments. These practices, in the eyes of Early Modern society, were considered "dark magic:" "Old Christian women as well as moriscas practiced such magic and also faced prosecution by the Inquisition. Magic healing by moriscas was closely associated with love magic and superstitions that the Church considered blasphemous" ("Veil" 46). Justina accuses the *morisca* repeatedly, pointing out all the demonizing traits that she perceives in her: "Siempre yo entendí de ella que era bruja, y no me engañaba, porque ella hacía unos ungüentos y unos ensalmos que no eran possible ser otra cosa" (217). However, Justina has no qualms about living with the old woman and learning about her business, even when she suspects the *morisca* is a witch: "me recibió de muy buena gana en su posada por parecerle que era yo algo a propósito para enseñarme el arte, ca es muy propio de herejes y de brujos desear herederos de su profesión" (216). Justina also perceives the

morisca's difference as a disease that she is in danger of being exposed to and eventually contract: "Ella bien me quisiera enseñar el oficio por pegarme la sarna" (217). This attitude is reminiscent of the implied insinuations and conections that Delicado makes between syphilis and Judaism. In the case of Justina, she links Moorishness to not only witchcraft and demonic activities, but also to the contagious disease scabies. This disease is directly connected to the skin, and like syphilis, it is easy to read on the body of those who suffer it: the symptoms of the disease become physical markers, just like ethnicity is perceived through assumed markers of difference.

Even though Justina swears that she abhors everything the old woman represents, she does not report her to the Inquisition and even confesses that she has some love for her: "No denuncié de ella, porque como ignorante, se me escapó la obligación que yo tenía de decirlo a los señores Inquisidores, y si la hice bien fue por la natural obligación que tiene cada cual a querer bien a quien le hace bien" (217). Justina "forgets" and blames her own ignorance for not reporting the old woman to the Inquisition, even though, after what Justina supposedly observed, she should have done so, according to law. That Justina, a new Christian, would claim not knowing about the requirement of reporting to the Inquisition is preposterous, and any Early Modern reader would know this. Instead, Justina ignores the old *morisca*'s spells and deviant behavior and recognizes that she feels an attachment toward the old woman.

The old woman dies and Justina takes care of the funeral arrangements. She prepares the old woman for burial, and makes sure that she is buried as if she were Christian (219). Before announcing the old woman's death, Justina cleans the house of all money and hides it. After the burial, she makes herself pass for the *morisca*'s

granddaughter. No one questions that Justina is indeed the deceased's granddaughter and she is free to take everything she wishes from the house. Justina's hybrid background allows her to make herself pass as *morisca* when needed. Although Justina's actions of cleaning up the house and keeping all the morisca's money may seem opportunistic and even cruel, Justina does show some respect for the old woman when she makes sure that no Masses are said for her, her reasoning being that "no la podía hacer mayor pesar que ofrecerle en muerte lo que tanto aborreció en vida" (221). Perhaps Justina knows all too well what she herself would have wished if she would have been the one deceased. Despite Justina's seemingly careless attitude, she does include kind (albeit humorous) comments about the old woman here and there, such as the ones uttered by the neighbors who maintained that "para ser una santa, no había tenido otra falta sino haber sido desconversable" (220). It is very possible that Justina sees in the old woman what she herself might become in the near future, and makes sure to include some positive remarks about her.

López de Úbeda shows in this episode with the old Moorish woman the vilification that the figure of the Moor had suffered in Early Modern literary production. The Christian-like, beautiful ladies of *Guerras Civiles de Granada* are displaced by characters like Justina and the old *morisca*. Justina entertains the reader with her eloquence and her adventures, but she is not a Jarifa or a Zaida. There is an important change in most literary representations of ethnic minorities in the years surrounding the final expulsions in 1609. The quasi Christian Moor disappears to give way to a figure of entertainment: "The literary figure of the chivalric Moor, which by virtue of its sameness might have been able to claim Spanishness, is displaced by the clown, whose difference

cannot be allowed a respectful voice within the Spanish community" (Marchante-Aragón 115). Although Justina covers very effectively her mixed ethnic roots, whether they are Semitic or Arabic, she cannot escape her condition as a marginal character. She may trick and lie, she may be successful for a time reinventing herself and negotiating her identity, but the reader is still able to identify who she really is. In Justina's attitude toward the *morisca*, it is possible to observe the hatred, the fear and the efforts to exorcise from society an element that is not desired in favor of a homogenous Christian/white nation. The irony is that Justina herself is one of these "undesirable elements" because of her mixed blood. Justina projects onto the old *morisca* those traits that others may perceive of her.

Úbeda constructs in Justina a free woman, a woman who does as she wishes, who writes, who comments on society and who, first and foremost, is interested in material gain. To achieve this material gain, she sells her body and in the process she tricks, deceives and lies when necessary. She also breaks racial boundaries: one day she is a *mesonera* from the mountains, supposedly of pure Christian blood, the next day she is the granddaughter of a *morisca*. Her sexuality is as flexible as her race is: she can be a virgin when the circumstances require it, or a prostitute when she sees gain in it. She is a subversive element that is able to find the ambiguities in the system and exploit them to reach her pecuniary goals. Justina, as a woman and as an ethnic minority, represents those traits that the Spanish state is striving to eliminate from its midst. Úbeda is able, thanks to Justina's exotization and racialization, to portray her as brazen, as brilliant and as devious as he wishes her to be. After all, what could be expected by Early Modern Society of a *conversa*? Justina is allowed her own voice in her writing, but her writing

becomes an extension of her: ambiguous, ambivalent and full of hidden meanings. The reader must penetrate the text in order to know the truth about his "putidoncella," and experience full enjoyment. Like Justina's clients, the reader achieves pleasure from the reading, but he must delve in between the hidden meanings in order to not become the one who is tricked and deceived.

CHAPTER IV

CELESTINA'S SPAWN: THE DEMONIZATION OF THE EXOTIC OTHER IN *LA HIJA DE CELESTINA*

One of the pivotal works of Medieval literary production in Spain is *La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, written in 1499. This work stands at a crossroads between the Middle-Ages and the Renaissance, and has been praised and studied by many critics and scholars due in part to its portrayal of the elements that helped shape the way of life in the urban setting during the sixteenth century, such as "religion, sex, and commerce" (Valbuena 207). This work is also known by another name, *La Celestina*. Although this character's name does not appear in its original title, her presence is so strong in the work itself that her name has been widely used to identify the book as well and to refer to the social figure of the "medianera" or matchmaker. Celestina's influence extends her web into literary production far beyond her time, to the point of becoming an archetypal character.[58] Witch, old prostitute, "remiendavirgos," maker of cosmetics, matchmaker and of supposedly mixed origins, Celestina is one of the most influential characters of Spanish literary production.

In 1612, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo publishes *La hija de Celestina*, a short novel in which the reader is witness to the deviousness, travels and adventures of Elena,

[58] Celestina, however, was not the first literary character of her kind. It is believed that Celestina is based on Trotaconventos, the matchmaker that appears in *Libro de buen amor*.

daughter of Celestina.[59] Like her famous predecessor, Elena is of mixed blood and has a deep knowledge of subversive activities such as the mending of hymens or the concoction of cosmetics. The use of cosmetics was harshly criticized by scholars, such as Fray Luis de León in his book *La perfecta casada*, who believed that women who used them were as deviant as prostitutes: "afeitarse y el hermosearse, a las mujeres hace rameras" (103). The creation of cosmetics by *medianeras* and *pícaras* such as Celestina or Lozana enables subversive behavior. Like the other *pícaras* studied in this project, Elena is a racialized prostitute who changes identities according to her needs and who is always in search of material gain. The main difference between Elena and the other two *pícaras*, Lozana and Justina, is that Elena is more mischievous and crueler to the victims who fall prey to her tricks and manipulations. As a matter of fact, "Elena [...] seems devoid of any sense of remorse for her crimes. Corruption appears to be, for whatever reason, the only option available to her, and she makes a sport of her transgressions" (Friedman 99). The development of this chapter will elucidate the reasons why Elena's behavior has a more pronounced criminal tendency than that of Lozana or Justina. This tendency will be contextualized within the perceptions of ethnic minorities during the early years of the seventeenth century.

Elena is also different in that she is constantly subjected to the masculine gaze. While Lozana and Justina do as they wish and are relatively free, Elena has a "pimp"/husband who tells her what to do and when to do it. This constant repressive surveillance also affects Elena's behavior and would account in part for her criminal behavior as well. When Elena rebels and tricks Montúfar, he eventually catches up to her

[59] The second edition of *La hija de Celestina* is published in 1614 under the name *La ingeniosa Elena*. Salas Barbadillo published it as part of a collection of short stories, but Elena's story remains the same in this second edition (García Santo-Tomás 15).

and she is severely punished and abused. Elena, however, does have a mind of her own and will continually strive to free herself from her husband's dominion. Elena's voice is also supervised by the narrator. While Lozana's story is told in dialogue form, which allows for a direct reading of Lozana's words, and Justina tells her story in an autobiographical mode, Elena's story is told by the masculine voice. This overwhelming masculine presence in the text, a presence that controls Elena's actions and mediates between Elena and reader, can be construed as the voice of an unreliable narrator prone to gender biases. The narrator's view of women is dichotomized in two extremes: the bad woman and the good woman. From the narrator's perspective, and having in mind his moralizing comments, there is no midpoint between these two categorizations of women. Women are to be divided between those who are evil and those who are good ones, and the role of the narrator is to inform the reader of this dichotomy. There is only one exception in which Elena directly tells the story of the early years of her life, in an autobiographical mode, more suited to the traditional picaresque literary production. However, this allowance only highlights what the reader already suspects: the role of Elena as a subversive element of society and her lack of scruples.

The most significant difference between *La hija de Celestina* and the previously analyzed female picaresque novels is the (re)presentations of the exotic other in this work. By 1612 the rebellions in Las Alpujarras and the last expulsions of the *moriscos* had already taken place. Although there are voices that defend and recognize the presence of exotic elements (such as clothing and language) and ethnic minorities in Spanish culture, for the most part the representations of the exotic other suffer a

demonization and a construction based solely on negative, even malignant, aspects.[60] The same stereotype that appears in *La pícara Justina* appears in *La hija de Celestina* where the *morisca* is demonized and presented as a dangerous element of society that will subvert the patriarchal laws of conduct required of women and of men alike. Elena/Celestina is a diseased aspect of society that needs to be eradicated from a patriarchal white Christian society. This explains the constant violence that Elena is subjected to: she needs to be kept under constant control. She also shows relentless deviousness and deception, insinuating that Elena cannot be changed and cannot escape her nature, even if brutal force is used.

In this chapter I will demonstrate that, as in the case of Lozana and Justina, the author portrays Elena as an Orientalized woman, a prostitute and a deviant element of society. The fact that Elena is of mixed origins allows the author to portray her within the stereotypical perceptions of ethnic minorities such as exaggerated sexuality, the use of deceit and lying in order to earn pecuniary gain, and the manipulation of their chameleonic nature, which threatens a Christian/white social homogeneity. Portraying Elena as a transgressing *cristiana* would not allow the narrator to draw from stereotypes of ethnic minorities in order to construct Elena's character. Like her predecessors, Elena is able to negotiate her identity according to her needs and circumstances, becoming an even more subversive societal element, since she will make herself pass as a white Christian woman even though her mother was a Moorish slave. Elena's ability to disguise her identity shows the tensions that the Spanish state, in its efforts to rid Spain of

[60] This is not to say that there were no voices that denounced the atrocity that occurred with the expulsions of crypto Muslims. Cervantes, for instance, makes reference to this in *Don Quijote* during the episode of Ricote and his family. He also demonstrates in the same book the enrichment of the Spanish language through contact with Arabic. *Los libros plúmbeos de Ayamonte* are also a representation of those desperate efforts made to avoid the final expulsion (see Chapter I).

ethnic minorities that might threaten the so-wished peninsular homogeneity, experiences when faced with racial and religious markers that are not so easily identified. Although Elena shows the same wish for freedom and a remarkable ease of language as the previous *pícaras*, she cannot escape her dependence on, and her abusive relationship with, her husband/pimp Montúfar. I will show how this relationship is in reality a symbol of the relationship between Spain and its ethnic minorities and how Elena's portrayal reflects the changing attitudes and (re)presentations of ethnic minorities. The chapter will be historically contextualized within the last *morisco* rebellions in southern Spain during the late sixteenth century and the final *morisco* expulsions from the Peninsula in 1609.

Elena's mixed heritage is of special importance to understand her position in Early Modern Spanish society and to glimpse into her abilities to (re)invent herself when needed. Elena's Galician father and Moorish mother make her a hybrid subject, someone who inhabits a liminal location in between spaces (Bhabha 19). This characteristic will allow Elena to move fluidly between worlds and to negotiate her identity according to need and want. We will see Elena as a public woman, as a dishonored damsel, as a married rich woman, as a beggar and as a courtesan in Madrid. Because of her mixed heritage, Elena is doomed to be a member of the marginalized classes. However, she makes the most of the situation and utilizes her knowledge of both worlds to enter spaces naturally forbidden to her, such as aristocratic spaces. Her steps take her also to the marginal spaces in the city, where she feels equally at ease: "caminó a la calle de los Cristianos modernos, en cuyas casas es más nueva la fe que los vestidos" (97). The effortlessness with which Elena moves in spaces consigned to *cristianos viejos*, as well as

cristianos nuevos, stresses her intelligence and ability to utilize and manipulate her mixed heritage.

La hija de Celestina does not formally follow what would be called a picaresque pattern for various reasons. The most noticeable deviation from the picaresque canon is that the story line is told by a third person omniscient narrator, which contrasts with the first person autobiographical format of picaresque novels such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* or *El Buscón*. Elena is also under one sole master, Montúfar, while in the picaresque canon the *pícaro* has various masters. This also differs from the female picaresque novel, in which *pícaras* operate alone. Although the story begins *in medias res*, and does not begin with the expected presentation of the rogue's origins and family ancestry, later on the omniscient narrator allows for Elena to tell the story of her life and beginnings in the first person. Regardless of the dissimilarities between *La hija de Celestina* and the canonical picaresque, it is also possible to find similarities. Elena's character does fall within the picaresque canon: she is smart, cunning, devious and a trickster. Like the other *pícaras*, she is extraordinarily beautiful and she is driven by pecuniary need in her endeavors. Elena's travels and changes of identity, rather than being organized according to her work for different masters as is usually done in the canonical picaresque, are framed according to spatial context. Elena's identity changes as she moves to new spaces. Enrique García Santo-Tomás explains: "*La hija de Celestina* que, si bien hace breve escala en ciertos escenarios que podrían definirse de 'aristocráticos,' se estructura todavía mediante un marco itinerante más cercano a la tradición picaresca precedente" (39). Thus, *La hija de Celestina* follows the picaresque canon in that there are various changes in space, and it follows the wandering habits of both *pícaros* and *pícaras*.

However, Salas Barbadillo's work does not limit itself to portraying the marginal classes, since his work includes scenarios wherein the aristocracy moves and interacts with the *pícara*. Elena's purpose in entering these aristocratic spaces is, of course, to trick the rich victim. Through these scenes the reader is offered the benefit of seeing Elena in action, as she makes herself pass for a rich Christian maiden, when in reality she is not. Elena's abilities to change her identity are similar to Lozana and Justina's, but the fact that Salas Barbadillo places Elena in an environment that is different from her origins emphasizes even more Elena's capacity of reinvention. It also highlights the very likely possibility that Christians and *moriscos* are not, after all, so different.

The plot of *La hija de Celestina* begins in the city of Toledo, during the wedding of Sancho Villafañe, a young lord who is getting married to a rich Christian lady for her money and status, not for love. During the wedding celebrations, Elena catches his attention and upon seeing her, don Sancho falls in love with her. Through trickery, she procures a knife that belongs to don Sancho and makes don Sancho's uncle believe that his nephew dishonored her. Don Sancho's uncle gives her a generous sum of money for her to be quiet about his nephew's activities. Once she has the money, she leaves for Madrid accompanied by her lover/pimp Montúfar, La Méndez (an old woman and confidante), and a teenage boy. On her way to Madrid, the narration shifts to first person and she tells the story of her origins. In the meantime, don Sancho is informed of his uncle's encounter with Elena (he does not know that she is the woman he has fallen love with), and leaves Toledo looking for the *pícara*, while pining for the nameless lady with whom he is infatuated. Little does he know that the two women that he is looking for are the same person. On two occasions during his search he encounters Elena, but she makes

herself pass for someone else and he does not recognize her. Meanwhile, Elena and Méndez are mistreated by Montúfar. They eventually make peace and go to Sevilla where the four *pícaros* make a living begging in the streets. After some time, they are discovered and La Méndez dies after receiving four hundred lashes. Montúfar and Elena escape to Madrid, where they marry and she becomes a courtesan. Their marriage is not one of love, but of convenience for both of them, according to the narrator. Elena becomes interested in a young man, a circumstance that leads her to poison Montúfar after being physically abused by him. She is eventually taken to justice and hanged as punishment for her husband's death. After her death, her body is put in a barrel and thrown into the Manzanares river.

Elena's tale in "Capítulo 3" is of great importance, since it is then that she uncovers the truth of her identity: she is the daughter of a Muslim slave, a *morisca*. Not only is her origin uncovered, but also her connection with a pseudo-Celestina, her mother. Elena's knowledge of celestinesque traits such as witchcraft, prostitution and the subversion of moral codes in that she is sold as a virgin several times, is also made clear. Elena, thus, is doubly dangerous because of her ethnic origin and her skills in areas that are deemed contrary to Christian behavior. There is an undeniable connection of *morisca*/*conversa* with witchcraft, as was also seen in *La pícara Justina*. The fact that Elena is a woman only exacerbates this connection since "Christians […] analogously viewed women in general, and accused witches in particular, as treacherous and deceitful enough to drive men to madness or perdition. Thus, the popular imagination could conflate the threat of the secretive Jew, the diabolically empowered witch and the proverbial lustful woman" (Valbuena 208). Although it is made clear that Elena is a

morisca, and not a crypto Jew, the association still applies. *Moriscos* were also perceived as secretive since they were under suspicion of practicing their religion in the safety of their home. Elena fits these perceptions by the fact that she is a woman of mixed origins, with ties to witchcraft. She is also lustful and drives men mad as can be seen in don Sancho's case, who after only one glimpse of her becomes infatuated and puts his marriage in jeopardy. The portrayal of Elena, thus, is colored with the perceptions, stereotypes and misconceptions of Spain's ethnic minorities. In Elena the worst aspects of these stereotypes come together, to form a negative mirror image of the imaginary homogenous nation that the Spanish state is striving to form at this moment in time, the idea of a Christian nation that has exorcised ethnic and religious minorities from its midst. Elena threatens this homogeneity, not only by her origin, but also because of her capacity to successfully move between races and classes with ease.

Maurophobia: The *Morisco* in Sixteenth-Century Spain

Before starting an analysis of *La hija de Celestina*, it is necessary to understand the situation of *moriscos* at the time that Salas Barbadillo writes Elena's story. As mentioned, Elena is the daughter of a Moorish slave, and she is also the recipient of her mother's knowledge in matters of love magic, witchcraft and potions. This vilification of the Moor by the association with witchery, or even satanic rituals, may be better comprehended if studied within the sociopolitical context in regards to ethnic minorities on the Iberian Peninsula during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Salas Barbadillo writes *La hija de Celestina* in 1612. The date stands close enough to the final expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609 to be able to recognize a very

probable connection with the expulsion and the representation of the exotic other that appears in Barbadillo's work. Salas Barbadillo was born in Madrid in 1581 in a well-to-do family. He lived a bohemian life and of his occupation little is known, other than he obviously wrote and published several works (García Santo-Tomás 12-3). There is no mention in his biography of any indications of Salas Barbadillo being a *converso* or *morisco*. Unlike Francisco Delicado who obviously has strong ties with Semitism and consistently brings to life the traditions and customs of his people, or López de Úbeda who was suspected to be a *converso* and creates in Justina a devious, but entertaining *pícara*, Salas Barbadillo seems to come from a well-established Christian family. It would seem his lack of ties with ethnic minorities allows for a more stereotypical portrayal of *moriscos*, taking advantage of all the negative aspects associated with this ethnic group. Abindarráez, Ozmín, or the lords and ladies of Granada are all but forgotten in Salas Barbadillo's portrayal of the exotic other. Although, as Luce López-Baralt reminds us, it is necessary to remember that Spanish literature of this time was heavily censored and writers produced their works having censorship in mind (35), Salas Barbadillo seems to write consciously within a maurophobic discourse.

The rebellion of Las Alpujarras occurred in the years 1568 to 1571, as a response to Felipe II's "Pragmática sanción de 1567," in which moriscos were obligated to abandon their customs, such as bathing, their way of dressing, and even their language. They were given two years to learn Castilian and show proof that they were indeed converted to Christianity: "y que las mujeres moriscas, y delos dichos nuevamente convertidos dentro de dos años que se contassen dela data dela dicha carta, […] dexassen las dichas almalafas, y traxessen mantos y tocas y sus rostros descubiertos, segun que los

traen y trayan las Christianas Viejas" ("Pragmática sanción" 2). This conversion is physically shown by the elimination of any markers that would identify individuals as a people of Muslim origins. The elimination of Arab clothing is only one of the many changes required of *moriscos* in order to remove any visual markers of difference between *moriscos* and *cristianos viejos*. It was expected that the *moriscas* would show their faces and dress like *cristianas viejas*.[61] However, even if they did follow the rules required by this "Pragmática," they were always under suspicion: "the newly baptized Moors were equally tormented during the years of their forced cultural and religious assimilation. Many cases have been documented in which Moors were tried for taking baths" (López-Baralt 34). Upon the introduction of such prejudiced demands, the *moriscos* rebelled in Southern Spain, in an area called Las Alpujarras, between Granada and Almería. This rebellion grew in force and gained support from *moriscos* not initially involved when Christian soldiers were called to fight the rebellions:

> these 'Christian' forces focused more on plundering the towns near Granada than on pursuing the rebels into their remote strongholds. They not only stole the horses and valuable movable goods of Moriscos *pacíficos* along the Vega de Granada and Río Almanzora in Almería, but also took women and children captive and sold them into slavery. The result of the abuses committed by nobles on horseback as well as foot soldiers was the spread of the rebellion into areas ill-disposed to the uprising. (Childers 12)

Rather than the chivalric world described in *Las Guerras Civiles de Granada* by Ginés Pérez de Hita, the wars between Moors and Christians at the end of the sixteenth century show a cowardly attitude on the Christian side. In many instances after pillaging and gaining goods, they would return to their homes without fulfilling their military duties because their participation in these military operations was merely opportunistic and their

[61] It is also important to note that *cristianas* had started to use veils in order to cover their faces and be able to move with relative freedom outside the home as *tapadas*. Because the veil covered their faces, they were safe from being identified.

only goal was to enrich themselves.[62] Once the Alpujarras rebellion was contained in 1570, the *moriscos* were dispersed throughout other areas of Spain in an attempt to force them to mix within the Christian community and "disperse" their Muslim identity. Children were given to Christian families to be raised as Christians, while others were sold as slaves.

Although the government relocated *moriscos,* and forbade them to dress in Arab fashion or to continue their traditions and customs, they maintained their cultural practices: "It is difficult to know how many of the *moriscos* consciously engaged in the forbidden activities as a means to preserve their own religious beliefs. Changing into clean clothing on Friday and eating meat cooked in oil rather than lard might merely represent customary cultural practices than religious subversion" (Perry, "Veil" 44). Cultural practices such as these, being different from Christian cultural practices, in many cases resulted in accusations and reporting to the authorities and the Inquisition, even though many crypto Muslims had forgotten the religious meanings behind these practices and continued them as part of their culture. As López-Baralt elucidates, the texts in Aljamiado that have survived show the struggles of Muslims to maintain their culture and language, and show the deterioration that the *moriscos*' knowledge of language, religion and customs suffered.[63] The most poignant aspect of Aljamiado literature is, perhaps, the realization of the anonymous writers that they were losing their Muslim identity and were unable to do anything to stop it: "Centenares de folios aljamiados injustamente inéditos

[62] Calderón de la Barca portrays the cowardly side of the Christian forces in his theater play *El tuzaní de la Alpujarra*. This work is set during the Alpujarra rebellions and presents a maurophilic view of the Moor, albeit the underlying tension of the necessity of conversion and assimilation of the Moor is ever present.
[63] Aljamiado makes reference to the Arabic spoken and written by crypto Muslims in Spain. In the latter years there has been a renewed interest in Aljamiado literature thanks to the discovery of texts written in Spanish, but utilizing Arab characters. This literature was written in secret and its topics tended to be "testimoniales y proselitistas" (López-Baralt 155). López-Baralt calls this literature, due to its nature, hybrid (120).

nos confirman una y otra vez el estado de tension y angustia de la comunidad agonizante que los recibe" (López-Baralt 139).[64] One of the dangers of "passing" oneself for a Christian or a Moor, is the loss of one's own identity while in the process of assimilation (Fuchs, *Passing for Spain* 9). Although clandestine *moriscos* manage to maintain some of their customs, many of them have forgotten what these practices mean or stand for.

Besides the tension caused by the inability to tell a sincere convert from a deceitful one, another aspect that complicated the perceptions of *moriscos* has to do with the law of the *Taqiyya*. This law, included in Islamic dogma, specifies that a Muslim who is in danger of being threatened, hurt or killed because of his/her beliefs, may deny their religion if they are still believers of Islam in their hearts: "El Corán eleva la conducta engañosa a prescripción revelada cuando estipula que el musulmán puede fingir practicar la religión del enemigo si se encuentra forzado a ello, siempre y cuando venere la religión del Profeta de su corazón" (López-Baralt 174). Because of this law, the government, which was advocating and pushing in favor of a homogenous Spain, could not be sure that the Muslims had really converted. Many of their traditions and religious observances were done in the privacy of their homes. The *morisco* could baptize his child as a Christian, and later, have Muslim rites observed in the home (Perry, "Veil" 41). Even if *moriscos* renounced Islam publicly, neighbors, community and political leaders could never be certain that the conversion was a real, truthful one, and this created suspicions and tensions towards crypto Muslims. Hence, the stereotype of the *moro mentiroso* is reinforced. It is impossible to know what a *morisco* truly believes because

[64] Luce López-Baralt does an in-depth study of various examples of Aljamiado literature in her book *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española* (Chapter 6). In this chapter she analyzes, thanks to the Aljamiado literature, the consequences of the various "Pragmáticas" that affected directly the *morisco* population, and the results of these "Pragmáticas" in everyday life such as loss of the Arab language, loss of religious knowledge and the frustration upon forgetting the reasons behind their own cultural practices.

the *morisco* could be resorting to the law of the *Taqiyya*. The stereotype of *moriscos* as liars and untrustworthy, as perceived by the main body of the Christian population, is reinforced by the possible practice of this law.

The failure of the rebellion of Las Alpujarras and the consequent scattering of *moriscos* was not enough to achieve assimilation. The drive to make Spain a nation free of oriental elements culminated with the final expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609. The Hispano-Arabs had successfully maintained a certain cohesion as a people with a common ancestry, regardless of all the efforts by the Spanish government's various *Pragmáticas*, which were formulated to push the integration process. The *moriscos* went into hiding, remaining half-assimilated in many cases (López-Baralt 120). The procedures for ridding Spain of ethnic/religious minorities that began with the Catholic Monarchs ended with the final expulsion of those Muslims who had converted to Christianity. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the means to achieve a homogenous Spanish nation were based on a "genealogically verifiable Gothic identity," "persecution of the Moriscos," and "the construction of a national myth of Spain as heir of imperial Rome and defender of the Church" (Fuchs, *Passing for Spain* 10). The presence of *moriscos* who were constantly under suspicion of being sincere converts to Christianity threatened the homogeneous nation that the Spanish crown was striving to project.[65]

When Salas Barbadillo publishes *La hija de Celestina* in the years following the final expulsion, society's views of the *morisco* population in Spain have become tinted with negative undertones. This is not to say that there were not great efforts made to avoid the final expulsion of the *moriscos*, but the perceptions and stereotypes of

[65] López-Baralt remarks that *conversos* ("sinceros o no") were able to assimilate faster and more effectively into Christian society than *moriscos* (120).

moriscos, such as being deceitful and dishonest, become part of the representation of the *moriscos* as a people in the Christian imaginary.[66] These tendencies to stereotype go on to permeate literary production. Salas Barbadillo makes use of those stereotypes and perceptions when Elena achieves her means and reaches her pecuniary goals through lies and deceit. He utilizes the idea of the Orientalized woman as promiscuous when he gives Elena the job of courtesan in Madrid, and finally exploits the stereotype of the *morisco* who practices dark magic when he gives Elena a "witch" as a mother.

In his book *Europe (in Theory)*, Roberto Dainotto explains how during the Early Modern period, Europe is striving to define itself, and in order to define itself it uses as an oppositional contrast the most immediate threat to its cohesion: "Another Europe – an eastern one […] was being shaped by the advance of Turkish and Muslim armies: to the rest of the continent, this other Europe appeared dark, threatening, and quite Oriental" (33). By the end of the fifteenth century, Europe is defining itself as an opposite to the peoples that declare Islam as their primary cultural identity. However, Europe does recognize that there are possible commonalities between both cultures, especially after the discovery of America in 1492, a true Other in the eyes of Western Europe (Dainotto 39). Still, if Spain wishes to present itself before Europe as European, it must erase all traces of Oriental cultures that there might be amongst its constituents. The demonization of the Oriental other, with its direct connection to the dark arts and witchcraft, is an attempt to detach the Christian world from the Oriental world. Rather than looking for harmony between both worlds, the *moriscos* are portrayed as demonic, devious and untrustworthy, completely removed from the ideal Christian identity that Spain is striving to project. *La hija de Celestina* is an excellent example of this demonization. Its violent

[66] See Chapter 1 for information on the efforts made in order to avoid the *moriscos*' expulsion.

ending showcases the tensions that the presence of *moriscos* produce in Spain and the primal necessity to remove, at all costs, their presence from the Iberian Peninsula. As I will show, Elena is portrayed according to the most negative stereotypes of *moriscas*. However, she is also presented as alluring and enticing, the temptation that the Christian man is unable to resist.

Elena is similar to the other *pícaras* studied in this project in that she is beautiful, she is racialized and her body serves to achieve her material gain. Due to her hybrid nature, Elena is able to pass herself as Christian, even though she specifies that she is the daughter of a slave. Her identity shifts and changes according to her needs, although she is presented always as a delinquent, with only her best interests in mind. She is also a prostitute, like the other *pícaras*, but Elena is saved from suffering from venereal diseases, which are never referenced in the book. This, perhaps, is an attempt by Salas Barbadillo to present Elena as desirably as possible, especially when she encounters don Sancho and he falls in love with her at first sight. Elena also travels extensively, albeit within the limits of the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, Elena, like all other *pícaras*, is a public woman and her seeming freedom and lifestyle is contrasted to that of the Christian woman, producing a dichotomy in which the two most popular representations of women, the prostitute and the virgin, come face-to-face. As Enriqueta Zafra remarks, "el discurso de Salas muestra las claves necesarias para distinguir entre la mujer honrada y la libre" (151). Salas Barbadillo shows, in a moralizing context, the consequences of Elena's lifestyle. However, it is impossible to ignore the historical background against which Elena's story takes place and most importantly, it is impossible to ignore that Elena is the daughter of a *morisca*, and is a *morisca* herself. Salas Barbadillo's choice of punishment

for Elena at the end holds not only a moralizing lesson, but contains the reality of Spanish society in the seventeenth century as well: *moriscos* can no longer live among Christians and they need to be removed from Spanish society.

(Re)Presentations of Race: The *Pícara Morisca* and Her Many Identities

Elena's story opens when she arrives in the city of Toledo, although it is not mentioned from where she is traveling. Before the start of the main plot, Elena is described in detail: "mujer de buena cara y pocos años, que es la principal hermosura, tan sutil de ingenio que era su corazón la recámara de la mentira, donde hallaba siempre el vestido y traje más a su propósito convenientes" (84). In just a couple of sentences, Salas Barbadillo portrays Elena as a young beautiful woman who is also smart and a seasoned liar. He also highlights Elena's talent at disguising herself according to what best suits her needs. Elena's most remarkable quality is, according to the narrator, deceit. He also presents her as dangerous because Elena is not only good at what she does, she is also smart and witty. The description continues, giving more detail of Elena's physical appearance: "Eran sus ojos negros, rasgados, valentones y delincuentes" (85). Her dark, almond-shaped eyes have a definite exotic quality to them. The narrator's voice also tells us that her eyes are brave and those of a delinquent. Basically, Elena is a temptress, a femme fatale. The description of her eyes continues, the narrator explaining how her eyes might become kind at any moment, if only to attract men to her and then to fool the hopeless lover.

Her attire is also referenced. First, the narrator tells us that Elena will change her dress in order to disguise herself according to need. Then, the narrator articulates how

Elena "vestíase con mucha puntualidad de lo más práctico: lo menos costoso y lo más lucido" (85). There is a very detailed description of Elena's clothing, very in tune with the latest fashions and expectations of how a well-to-do lady should dress. However, the narrator's first observation points out Elena's situation: she cannot afford expensive clothing, but she does the best she can to give the impression of wealth. Elena's efforts to make herself pass for someone of wealth is an indicator of the picaresque world: "the marginalized figure (marginalized due to his or her class status in combination with his or her ignominious origin, race and gender) must visibly participate in the symbolic markers of wealth and status in order to pertain to a higher societal position, at least ostensibly" (Cooley, *Courtiers* 134). Her fashionable choices in clothing, however, can do no justice to the beauty of her face. And yet, appearances are deceiving because under the beauty of her face and the stylishness of her attire, Elena is presented as a danger to well-bred Spanish society because of her deceitfulness. Her entrance in Toledo is basically described with the implications of a bad omen.

Once in Toledo, Elena informs herself of the reasons for the celebrations she encounters upon her arrival, and finds out that one of Toledo's richest bachelors, don Sancho, is getting married that night. Tricking the page of the groom's uncle, Elena is able to gather even more information about Sancho's character. She finds out that he is a womanizer and that in more than one occasion the family has needed to hush a dishonored maiden in order to prevent the discovery of Sancho's ways. She also finds out that don Sancho's family is rich and has the means to provide for one more "dishonored maiden." Elena is about to change her identity from a seeming lady, to an innocent youth who fell in Sancho's trap. Before changing her appearance, however,

Sancho has a glimpse of Elena and becomes immediately infatuated by her: "y con la luz de las hachas acertó a ver el rostro de Elena, que de paso le tiranizó el alma con tan poderosa fuerza que, si le fuera posible, siguiera [a] la hermosa forastera y perdonara de muy buena gana las bodas" (98). Only a hint of Elena's beautiful face is necessary for Sancho to lose his mind. The effect that Elena has on him is as if produced by magic or witchcraft: he is willing to forsake his marriage to a well-to do Toledan lady in order to declare his passion to Elena. Elena's beauty and her capacity to mingle herself with peoples from different classes identify a subversive element that jeopardizes the social order: "Salas Barbadillo ve en la pícara-prostituta al elemento desestabilizador que trae desorden y caos a la sociedad desde todos los ángulos: legal, moral o social" (Zafra 144). Elena's presence endangers the very basic institution of marriage, especially a marriage that seems to be profitable in a social context, a marriage among equal partners as far as social class goes. From a moralizing view point, Elena is the temptation that would stop Sancho from fulfilling his religious duty to marry a virtuous and chaste Christian woman. Although in Early Modern society there existed a belief that chastity was preferred above all virtues in order to be a good Christian, marriage was considered a close second best. Fray Luis de León, for example, says that "aunque el estado del matrimonio en grado y perfección es menor que el de los continentes o vírgenes, pero, por la necesidad que hay dél en el mundo para que se conserven los hombres […] fué siempre muy honrado y privilegiado" (10-11). There is a recognition that marriage is necessary in order to procreate and continue the human race. But although marriage is an honorable path, chastity is still perceived as the highest and most respected virtue.

The narrator makes sure that the reader understands that Elena is a good liar, and is capable of transforming from a Christian lady to a beggar when necessity calls for it. Elena's constant changing of clothes allows her to switch identities and to pass herself off for others in the process. Elena knows that people only see what they expect to see, and she successfully plays with this expectation. For instance, later in the story she is beaten and tied to a tree. Don Sancho, who happens to be traveling to Burgos, finds her in the remote countryside and, although he recognizes Elena, her clothing and situation mislead him: "reconoció el rostro amado. Pero, como él tenía hecho concepto de que Elena era mujer principal y casada en Madrid, dudó mucho que pudiese ser ella persona que gozase de aquella libertad como era venir [a] tantas leguas de su tierra, sola y en traje semejante" (133). Don Sancho is subject to his expectations, not to the facts that he has so plainly in front of him: the fact that this is Elena, his beloved whom he believes to be a married woman from Madrid. Instead, he rationalizes the situation according to what would be expected of a well-to-do married woman. He does not even consider the fact that Elena might be what she does not seem to be. Elena's capacity to make herself pass for others "effectively casts repressive categories into crisis, even if it does not necessarily resolve intolerance or afford permanent accommodation within the boundaries of a narrowly imagined Spain" (Fuchs, *Passing for Spain* 9). Elena can effectively pass herself off as a Christian white woman effectively, or for a beggar. It is, however, her incursions into the dominant race/religion/class that are bound to cause the most tension in a society dominated by the obsession with labeling its members according to ethnic and religious backgrounds. How can a *morisca* portray herself as a white woman? How can someone who comes from the lower classes enter with such ease into the upper class space without

raising suspicion? It seems that Elena's upbringing within the lower class has no effect when she passes for someone from the upper class. Everyone with whom she comes in contact with (mostly men), only see her beauty. Elena's ability to change her appearance fluidly allows her to move between worlds and easily change identities, successfully fooling those who come in contact with her, causing them to be unable to decipher the truth of her own origins. One of her most effective identity changes occurs when she tries to deceive don Sancho's uncle in order to steal some of his money.

In order for Elena to successfully steal money from don Sancho's uncle, she first needs to change her identity. At this point in the story, the reader is unaware of Elena's occupation as a prostitute, although it is obvious that she is a public woman due to the ease with which she walks the streets of Toledo. We also know that she is of a rare and exotic beauty, separating her from how the beauty of a Christian woman would be described. In the Early Modern period the idealized woman was thought to be fair skinned, blonde haired and blue-eyed. Elena is none of those. She must change all these markers and perceptions in order to deceive Sancho's uncle. From a public woman, she must become a naïve youth, and her sultry, exotic beauty must become demure and subtle. Elena procures dark clothing for herself and her cohorts and they travel to the abode of don Rodrigo, Sancho's uncle, where Elena introduces herself as "una señora montañesa que acababa de llegar de León" (98). The mountainous regions of Spain (especially in the North) were connected during the Early Modern period to the idea of purity of blood and the belief that the true Spanish character, free of Orientalizing influences dwelled in the mountain towns. Elena, therefore, by announcing herself as a "señora montañesa" is in reality presenting herself as an old Christian. Once in don

Rodrigo's presence, the threesome (Elena, La Méndez and Montúfar) cries and makes a show of great sorrow. Elena manipulates the situation masterfully:

> Elena, que sabía que una mujer hermosa tal vez persuade más con los ojos llorando que con la boca hablando en lugar de razones acudió con una corriente de copiosas lágrimas […] limpiándose ya con un lienzo los ojos por mostrar la blanca mano, y ya retirando el manto porque se viesen en el rostro las lágrimas. (99)

Elena plays the role of innocent youth, and makes sure that she utilizes her body, especially her beauty, in order to gain some sympathy from Sancho's old uncle. She also lets her hand be seen, which is described as "blanca," even though later on we learn that Elena is the daughter of a Moorish slave. This scene in which Elena successfully makes herself pass for someone who is almost the complete opposite of who she really is, shows Elena's manipulation of her own mixed origin: she can make herself pass as Christian/white when needed. The oppositional dichotomy of white/Christian/pure versus racialized/Orientalized/prostitute is exemplified in Elena when she is able to fool Sancho's uncle into believing her words. Because Elena is a racialized, Orientalized prostitute, it is necessary for her to reinvent herself and present herself as the type of woman that don Rodrigo, a "montañés" himself, would believe and be willing to help (100).

Needless to say, Elena does procure for herself don Rodrigo's money after making him believe that she has been dishonored by don Sancho. In her made-up story of how she is tricked by don Sancho and raped, she presents herself as the victim, not only of don Sancho, but also of a "esclava berberisca" (101). Elena tells how don Sancho, visiting his family in León, catches a glimpse of her and insists on courting her. When his advances do not work, he talks to the family's Moorish slave, who guides him

into finding Elena alone in a secluded spot. There, he attacks her with a dagger and rapes her. After the abuse, Elena says that "La esclava, que para dar más colores a la cautela, había hecho que me defendía […] se llegó a mí y, haciéndose muchas cruces, invocó todo el poder del cielo para que con todas las penas del infierno castigase tan mal hombre" (102). Her slave is presented as a traitor to her mistress, and as untrustworthy. Elena is playing with the stereotypes that ethnic minorities suffered in Early Modern society: the slave is acting according to her nature. Elena says of her slave that she "conocía bien su alevoso pecho" (102). Again, there is an essentialization of ethnic minorities: they are born deceitful and they cannot be changed. This type of discourse is only more striking because Elena herself is a trickster and she seems fully aware of the assumptions made by others of ethnic minorities. She utilizes this knowledge to make her story that much more believable in the eyes of don Rodrigo.

Don Rodrigo, bewitched by Elena's beauty, affected by her tears and fooled by her story, believes her every word and agrees to give her a great sum of money. Elena explains to him that upon hearing that don Sancho was getting married, she decided to travel to Toledo and ask the family for money. The money, Elena explains, is to enter a convent and become a nun (103). Elena's request should have seemed strange. In this type of honor situations in Early Modern literature, the woman usually demands her honor be restored through marriage to the perpetrator.[67] Of course, Elena's story is false and her only goal is to achieve material gain: she is not concerned with her honor or her family's. However, don Rodrigo seems quite content with the arrangement. He recognizes the dagger that Elena shows him (which she had procured from one of don

[67] Some examples would be Leonor in *Valor, agravio y mujer* by Ana Caro, or the story of Dorotea in *Don Quijote*.

Sancho's pages) as his nephew's. He also knows his nephew's reputation and does not wish to stop his marriage to the Toledan lady. Elena's astute performance works to both her advantage and his advantage by avoiding a scandal right when don Sancho is about to marry well. Elena's manipulation of her own identity brings her the financial gain that she covets.

As soon as she has her money, Elena leaves Toledo accompanied by her troupe of *pícaros*: Montúfar, La Méndez, and the young boy. Elena decides to entertain her travel companions while in flight to Madrid, and in order to do so, she tells them the story of her life and her origins. It is at this point in "Capítulo 3" that the mode of narration best resembles a canonical picaresque novel, since Elena is allowed to speak in an autobiographical mode. Of her ancestry, Elena says: "mi patria es Madrid. Mi padre se llamó Alonso Rodríguez, gallego en la sangre y en el oficio lacayo […] Mi madre fue natural de Granada, y con señales en el rostro" (106-107). Elena, as suspected in the previous descriptions of her, is of mixed heritage. On her father's side she is of a very probable Old Christian descent, since northern Spain was usually identified with Old Christianity and being free of Orientalizing influences. On her mother's side, it is obvious that she is Moorish. Her mother hails from Granada, the very last city to fall into Christian hands and heavily populated by Muslims. Elena's mother also has marks on her face, an unequivocal reference to her being a slave. Elena continues speaking of her mother: "Llamábanla sus amos María, y aunque respondía a este nombre, el que sus padres la pusieron y ella escuchaba mejor fue Zara" (107). This statement makes reference to the forced conversions of *moriscos*. Elena's mother is forcefully given the Christian name for women par excellence: María. And, as Elena says, although the

Moorish slave responds to the name, she reacts better to her original Arab name, Zara. Zara refuses in the beginning to marry a Christian because "con natural odio heredado de sus mayores, estaba mal con los cristianos" (108). Zara's refusal accentuates the difficulties of *morisco* assimilation into Early Modern society. When she does marry a Christian, Zara marries someone from Galicia, as marginalized as herself because Gallegos suffered from negative stereotyping such as "sucios, maliciosos y borrachos" (García Santo-Tomás 108). The message that the author seems to send is the refrain "dios los cría y el diablo los junta:" they marry because they are alike. Elena's mother is also displaced: she is born in Granada, but lives as a slave in Madrid. Her situation seems to reflect the situation of other *moriscos* who were forcefully moved to other areas of Spain in order to avoid great conglomerations of them in urban areas.

Before marrying, Zara works washing clothes in the river Manzanares, where she "igualmente remediaba necesidades, con la misma voluntad al de Túnez que al de Argel" (108). Besides doing laundry, Zara also sells herself to other Moorish slaves. Zara achieves her freedom when her mistress dies, but once she is free, she continues working washing clothes until she marries and gives birth to Elena. It is then that she changes her occupation:

> Ya ella había mudado de oficio, porque volviéndosele a representar en la memoria ciertas lecciones que la dio su madre – que fue doctísima mujer en el arte de convocar gente del otro mundo, a cuya menor voz rodaba todo el Infierno, donde se llegó a tanta estimación que no se tenía por buen diablo el que no alcanzaba su privanza –, empezó por aquella senda; y como le venía de casta. (109)

Zara's business is very similar to the literary character Celestina. As a matter of fact, Zara starts being called "Celestina" precisely because of these similarities: "y así, la llamaron todos en voz común 'Celestina,' segunda de este nombre" (110). Celestina is

perceived as a subversive societal element, and so is Zara. Elena's description of her mother's occupation, however, reveals other aspects of her character. Elena mentions that her mother's interest in witchcraft stems from her own upbringing. Her mother's mother had already taught her in her childhood the ways of the witches and how to participate in satanic rites. There is even a reference to the fact that Zara had relations with devils when Elena says that "no se tenía por buen diablo el que no alcanzaba su privanza" (109). Elena concludes by saying that her mother's behavior is only to be expected because "le venía de casta" (109). There is an essentialization of Zara. She cannot escape the supposed ways of her people. Even if Zara is given a Christian name, relocated to Madrid from Granada and married to a Christian, she cannot escape her nature. Although there have been found Aljamiado texts that do reference the interest of some *moriscos* in magic and witchcraft (López-Baralt 121), these interests were also prevalent among superstitious Christians. Salas Barbadillo chooses a maurophobic approach to the representation of the exotic other, clearly exemplified by the constant references to Satanism and witchcraft in Zara's life. This essentialization of the *moriscos*' nature is a result of the relationship between the Christian majority and the ethnic minorities in Spain. Due to this situation, it is possible to perceive the *morisco* as the colonized element in the process of assimilation; the hegemonic Christian state would be the colonizer. Bhabha explains that concepts of otherness are based on fixity. The colonized cannot change, he/she remains always the same, repeating time after time the same actions: he/she is essentialized (Bhabha 94). The stereotype is also characterized by excess: "the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed" (95). It is impossible to prove that Zara had sexual relations with

demons, that Zara talked to the dead or that she had special agreements with Satan. However, this image of the *morisco* as a demonic character does exist in the Christian imaginary, and it repeats itself over and over again. The *moriscos*' religious practices such as the *Taqiyya* also promote a stereotype in that the *morisco* is perceived by the Christian majority as a liar. Otherness, according to Bhabha, is also characterized by an ambivalent attitude of both desire and repulsion toward the colonized: "that 'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity" (96). Elena would fit this description: she is an object of desire because of her beauty. Don Sancho only needs to look at her once to want her for himself. However, the reader knows what Elena's motives are and recognizes the deceitfulness of her character. The Early Modern reader might be amused when reading about Elena's adventures, but also repulsed as he recognizes Elena's deviant nature. Finally, Elena is an "articulation of difference" in that she represents the heritage left by those ethnic minorities in a nation that strives to eradicate those differences, yet at the same time must come to terms with the fact that those Oriental elements have become part of the Spanish culture.

Zara is also portrayed as a subversive element that threatens the patriarchal order precisely in that domain that is central to honor: a woman's virginity. Of Celestina it is said that "hazia con esto maravillas: que quando vino por aqui el embaxador frances: tres vezes vendio por virgen una criada que tenia" (Rojas 41). Of Zara, Elena says that "Y sobre todas sus gracias, tenía la mejor mano para aderezar doncellas que se conocía en muchas leguas" (110). Celestina and Zara's occupations are one and the same. Zara's talents as "remiendavirgos" reflect those of Celestina. Through her talents as

"remiendavirgos," Zara is able to rewrite the body, manipulating the signs that would reveal the truth of having been already exposed to sexual intercourse. Zara's success as a "celestina" highlights the preoccupation, even obsession of Early Modern society with honor and virginity. Because Zara is able to manipulate and rewrite through sewing, a talent that is considered exclusively feminine, she threatens patriarchy. By utilizing those abilities that she possesses because of being a woman (sewing, weaving), she is able to fabricate virgins and deceive those who are obsessed with a woman's virginity: the supporters and enablers of a patriarchal system. Elena says that she herself was "tres veces […] vendida por virgen: la primera a un eclesiástico rico; la segunda a un señor de título; la tercera a un genovés" (113). The obsession with virginity is represented here as affecting the various members of the well-to-do: the church, the aristocracy and the merchants (all men). Zara is able to make the most of this fixation by selling her daughter and consequently achieve material gain as she repeatedly fools these men. However, Zara is also able to relieve the woman from a very real double standard by subverting it. In his book *La formación de la mujer cristiana*, written in 1523, Joan Lluís Vives says that the women who lose their virginity outside of marriage bonds "lo viven con mayor angustia [que los hombres], porque sus deslices son mucho más repugnantes a los ojos de todos" (79). The vessel of man's honor, that is woman, is responsible for guarding her virginity and in the process guarding her family's honor. These demands on women produced a need to keep them safe. In the case of a transgression on the woman's part, the consequences could be quite harsh, since the woman's life was in the hands of her husband and male relatives. If her husband decided to take her life, he had, according to the law, every right to do so. It is not surprising that subversive elements such as

"celestinas" would make their way into society, providing a way to hide these sexual transgressions from the keepers of patriarchal mores and "restore" a woman's virginity. Celestina/Zara has the destabilizing power to transform the transgressing female into a chaste woman, the two sides of the feminine that Salas Barbadillo includes in his work.

Pícaras and *Cristianas*: The Temptress and the Virtuous Woman

Joan Lluís Vives wrote his treatise on women and their role in marriage in 1528. Although in this work he emphasizes the necessity of educating women in order for them to be equal partners to their husbands, there is an understanding in his work that women need to be guided in the right path in order for them to achieve their full potential: a woman who is not educated and under the tutelage of a man will only cultivate negative traits in her personality. For instance, Vives says that

> la religión las ayuda a ser sencillas y muy buenas; la superstición a ser falsas y desagradables […] El hogar será para ella como una república: en el gobierno de la casa sabrá qué parte le corresponde a ella y qué otra a su marido. Aprenderá que dos son las principales, y casi únicas, virtudes de la mujer: por su condición humana, la religión; por su sexo, la castidad. (*Los deberes del marido* 140)

Vives highlights a dichotomy in the nature of women: the good woman and the transgressing woman. Although he does recognize the importance of educating women, and he references a seemingly equal partnership between husband and wife, his reasoning tends to treat women as children who need to be constantly guided, and he warns of the effects that a lack of guidance will have in women, since they show a tendency to transgress naturally. Chastity and religious observance are the two most important qualities that a woman should cultivate.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, María de Zayas denounces the lack of education that women receive in the early years of the seventeenth century. This lack of interest in the bettering and instruction of women stresses the second-class citizen status of the Early Modern woman. The clear cut dichotomy between the good woman and the transgressing woman that we find in literary production is a result of the essentialization of women, being relegated to no more than archetypal entities: Eve, the femme fatale and the temptress, and the Virgin Mary, wife, mother and pure. Women fall in one of these two categories, one negative and one positive. In his introduction to *La hija de Celestina*, Salas Barbadillo explains that the purpose of his writing is to entertain while showing how men need to beware of women like Elena: "el gusto enseña cuánto se han de guardar los hombres de una ruin mujer, y así, se podrá imprimir" (75). By portraying Elena as the daughter of a *morisca*, Salas Barbadillo is able to exploit these negative qualities that are found in women. Because Elena is of a mixed heritage, because she is not a member of the Christian/white community, Salas Barbadillo is able to give free reign to Elena's negative aspects such as satanism, prostitution, delinquency, lying and deceiving, and her wantonness. Elena's mixed blood gives Salas Barbadillo permission to portray Elena as corrupt and as deceitful as possible. Even qualities that are considered positive, such as intelligence and beauty, become corrupt in Elena's world. Her wit is so great that she is able to repeatedly fool all that come in contact with her. For instance, she fools don Sancho into believing that she is different women on various occasions. Her beauty bewitches rather than delights, and it only serves to bring the downfall of men, such as don Sancho, who nearly abandons his new (pious, virtuous, noble) bride in order to gain Elena's favors.

However, Salas Barbadillo does not limit himself to only presenting the archetype of the temptress in Elena. He also includes the pious, noble woman, the *perfecta casada* that Fray Luis de León describes in his book by the same name. The perfect married woman, as mentioned in the previous chapters, is silent, humble, pious and stays within the private space of her home. In *La hija de Celestina*, it is possible to see representations of this type of woman. When Elena arrives in Toledo, the narrator describes the women of the city as "insignes mujeres, bellas en los cuerpos, discretas en las almas, curiosas en el traje, suaves en la condición, liberales en el ánimo, honestas en el trato; deleitan cuando hablan, suspenden cuando miran, siempre son necesarias y jamás su lado parece inútil" (87). The Toledan women are described according to the expected virtues and conduct of a Christian woman. This description contrasts greatly with what we know of Elena and others like her: "Por las calles y plazas públicas también andaban muchas de menor calidad en la sangre – que en lo demás bien competían –, a cuyo olor iban mozuelos verdes y antojadizos" (87). In contrast to the Christian Toledan woman, the narrator introduces the women of the street who are "de menor calidad en la sangre," meaning that they are of a mixed heritage, either *conversas* or *moriscas*. It is also emphasized that these women are public women because they spend their time in the streets, looking for business. Another remarkable aspect of their description is that their clients are usually young men who do not know any better. These young men still need to learn to be careful with this type of women.

Elena is one of these public women. In her first appearance in Toledo, Elena is described in the following manner:

> ¡Oh, qué mujer, señores míos! Si la vieran salir tapada de medio ojo, con un manto de estos de lustre de Sevilla, saya parda, puños grandes, chapines con

> virillas, pisando firme y alargando el paso, no sé yo cuál fuera de ellos aquel tan casto que por lo menos dejara de seguirla, ya que no con los pies, con los ojos, siquiera el breve tiempo que estuviera en pasar la calle. (86)

She does fit within the group of public women that pullulate in the streets of Toledo. The mention of "tapada de medio ojo" makes reference directly to prostitution (García Santo-Tomás 86). She dresses fashionably, with *chapines con virillas*, but this type of shoe would only call more attention to her due to the sound they produce.[68] She is described as stepping firmly in the street, sure of herself and not afraid of being in the streets on her own. Finally, she is the object of many longing gazes from the men who see her.

Elena's visibility contrasts with the invisibility of don Sancho's bride. Very little is said about her, only that she is from Toledo and "una señora, deuda de todos" (86). The reader is also informed that she is of a higher status than don Sancho: "había solicitado tanto estas bodas – porque se mejoraba mucho en calidad con ellas" (89). Don Sancho's social status would benefit from his marriage to her. Nothing more is known about her, not even her name. Don Sancho's bride is silenced and relegated to nothing more than a vehicle for don Sancho to achieve a more advantageous place in society, while don Sancho himself is a groom who would rather follow Elena than marry his bride. The narrator also comments on the character of the *perfecta casada*, saying that "la mujer honesta, la de más buen ejemplo, si la ponen ocasiones apretadas se cansa" (117). The comment is not directed to don Sancho's wife, but it generalizes the nature of women as being weak and capricious. Even those women who have positive qualities and who fit within the expectations of Early Modern society will falter in their pursuit of perfection and virtue because of their feminine nature.

---

[68] García Santo-Tomás explains that "chapines con virillas" are platform shoes adorned with silver strips that "se caracterizaban por hacer sonar un ruido metálico cuando se andaba con ellos" (86).

Another element that sets Elena apart from the expected conduct of a virtuous Christian woman is her mobility. As seen with the other *pícaras,* Lozana and Justina, Elena travels extensively, although accompanied by Montúfar and La Méndez in most cases. Her travels extend from Sevilla to Burgos, and the motives of her travels are always either financial gain or escaping from justice once her tricks have been discovered. The nomadic character of the picaresque world is present in *La hija de Celestina*, but Elena differs from Lozana in that Lozana is accompanied in her travels by men who are perceived as her equal partners. Their relationship with Lozana is one of mutual respect. Elena also differs from Justina, who decides for herself where she wants to go, in that she travels alone. Elena appears to have freedom of movement when compared to the pious Christian woman who is relegated to the private space of the home. When don Sancho travels to Burgos in search of those who tricked his ailing uncle, his wife stays safely behind in Toledo. However, when Elena is compared to the two other *pícaras,* she is certainly lacking both in autonomy and freedom of movement, since she always travels under Montúfar's watchful eye.

Salas Barbadillo concentrates his efforts into describing Elena's character and lifestyle, rather than delving into the lifestyle of don Sancho's bride. Elena's transgressions give him that entertaining factor expected of the picaresque genre that he incorporates in his work. Vice, a public life and sex, after all, sell more and would probably prove more engaging to his readers than the story of a pious woman with no wrongdoings or major sins in her story. Elena's free life, her beauty, and her heritage allow Salas Barbadillo to explore the world of delinquency and low life without fear of reprimand or a backlash. Would the effect of Elena/*morisca*/prostitute as protagonist

have been the same if the anti-heroine would have been a Christian white prostitute? Because of the literary tradition that portrays Orientalized women as forward and active, even aggressive, in their relationships with their lovers, when Salas Barbadillo portrays Elena as a *morisca*, he is able to insert her within this stereotype. Elena might be a prostitute and her main interest may be pecuniary gain, as seen in the previous *pícaras*, but she is also interested in men for her own enjoyment. When, once in Madrid working as a courtesan, she meets Perico el Zurdo, her "husband" Montúfar becomes jealous because he can see that she is interested in Perico not because of his money, but because of her own pleasure: "Vio que Elena admitía la conversación de un mozuelo inútil, de estos que toman siempre a la una de la noche pesadumbres con las esquinas" (151). Elena's presence enchants the reader, but at the same time repulses him because of her deviant behavior. Elena is a representation of those traits that have no place in a moral, Christian society and serves as a warning to those who consider themselves good Christians, to not fall into her trap. Elena's exuberant presence is a counterpoint to the void left by the *perfecta casada*, who remains unnamed, invisible and silenced during the whole story. However, although Elena is such a strong presence throughout the entirety of the story, she is constantly perceived through the filter of the masculine voice. Unlike Lozana and Justina, Elena does not have a voice of her own.

The *Pícara*'s Punishment and the Authorial Voice

Although *La hija de Celestina* offers a marginal view of the Spanish society of the seventeenth century, one of the most relevant factors in picaresque novel, the first-person narration, is notably absent in this book. Salas Barbadillo tells Elena's story through the

voice of an omniscient third person narrator. Although *La pícara Justina* and *La Lozana andaluza* exhibit forms of authorial control, it is in *La hija de Celestina* that these forms of control are most prevalent. The absence of a first-person voice, or Elena's voice, as would be expected since she is the anti-heroine, affects the narration in more ways than it may seem:

> Es bien conocido que uno de los rasgos característicos de la picaresca es la condición no fidedigna de su narrador. Este rasgo obedece al carácter de seudoautobiografía que ostenta el libro del pícaro. Desprender a la picaresca de este rasgo es atentar contra las bases compositivas del género. La voz del pícaro que habla por igual en burlas como en veras es la que genera, en gran medida, la paradoja que representa el discurso picaresco. (Rodríguez Mansilla 115)

The play between what is true and what is a lie, the voice of the protagonist and the different layers of meaning that need to be deciphered disappear, due to the presence of the third person narrator. The narrator in *La hija de Celestina* is an omniscient narrator: he knows everything. Because of this perspective, it is easy to assume that this type of narrator, rather than tricking the reader and hiding facts, will present the story in a trustworthy manner. The narrator's omniscience leads us to believe that what we learn of Elena must be the truth.

The only exception in the narrative voice occurs when Elena is allowed to tell her story in her own words. Elena is given the opportunity to tell the story of her origins and depravities precisely because they illustrate what the reader may have already suspected: Elena is a subversive element of society that needs to be stopped. As Anne Cruz elucidates: "In its mimicry of what the authors construe as female discourse, the female picaresque, while claiming to assume a feminine voice, in actuality bespeaks male prejudice, formulating a cultural strategy through which sexual and social reality is created and maintained" (*Discourses* 158). Although Elena is "allowed" to tell her story

during her flight to Madrid, she is still under authorial control. She tells her story because the narrator permits her to do so, and only because Elena corroborates all the prejudices and stereotypes that conform to her ethnic origin. There is no real emotion shown, not a hint of repentance in Elena's words because "she is not a woman speaking for herself but an extension of the narrator" (Friedman 99). Elena has no real voice. This control is also seen in the other two female picaresque novels included in this project, but it is in *La hija de Celestina* that this form of control is most predominant due to the usage of the third person narration.

This authorial control also allows for a representation of the marginalized world of *pícaros* and *pícaras* from an outside perspective. While in the canonical picaresque novel this world is presented from the perspective of an insider, a *pícaro* himself (or *pícara*) who tells his story, *La hija de Celestina* delves into the underworld of Early Modern society from an outside perspective. This outside look into the inside world of the picaresque world of delinquency is laden with prejudice and assumptions of how the marginal classes live and behave. The purpose of the author is to bring to light the underworld of the lower classes and warn the educated, well-to-do reader of its dangers. And yet, it also admits the allure that this world may have in the higher classes, exemplified by don Sancho's infatuation with Elena. This fascination, however, is not healthy, since it jeopardizes the patriarchal order by threatening to break the marriage between don Sancho and the Toledan lady.

There is an attempt to contain Elena in the text, under the control of the authorial voice. The violence that Elena is submitted to various times may be the element that differentiates Elena most from the other two *pícaras*. Physically, Lozana and Justina

suffer from venereal diseases. These are absent from Elena's life, but she is constantly submitted to physically abuse. In all instances this abuse occurs when Elena strives to escape from Montúfar. Elena is basically beaten into submission at two levels: the physical level in which Montúfar hits her, ties her and reduces her until she has no other option but to remain with him, and at the narrative level since Elena is under the control, not only of Montúfar, but also the narrator. She is not allowed to tell her story, abandon Montúfar, or avoid her tragic destiny, already hinted at due to her mother's namesake. Fernando Rodríguez Mansilla explains that "el control que ejerce Montúfar sobre Elena puede interpretarse como un reflejo del control del propio narrador sobre la protagonista, a quién sólo se le ha otorgado la voz para contar su propia historia en un espacio restringido (el coche) para un solo oyente, Montúfar" (120). Furthermore, because Elena doesn't have the opportunity to directly address the reader through writing, like other *pícaros* and *pícaras*, she cannot openly "confess" her sins and deviations from societal norms (Rodríguez Mansilla 120). Elena is under two types of control: patriarchal control represented in Montúfar who only sees in Elena the means to achieve financial gain, and the control of a narrator who silences her most of the time and is able to choose what aspects of her life will be made available to the audience.

Elena's first attempt at freedom occurs when, on their way to Burgos, Montúfar falls ill with a fever. Elena had been already considering leaving him: "Ya iba descontenta Elena del lado de Montúfar, a quien llevaba aborreciendo con el mismo extremo que le amó, por haberle conocido en el ánimo tan pocas fuerzas; mirábale con ojos de desprecio, como a hombre cobarde y de corto corazón" (124). Montúfar's illness buys Elena the time she needs to escape from him with the old woman, La Méndez. But

their freedom is short-lived: once Montúfar regains his strength, he catches up with them in the forest. He tricks them into believing that he is not angry at them, and when he has their trust, he ties them to a tree, beats them and abandons them in the countryside:

> sacando unos cordeles que prevenidos para el caso traía, las ató a dos árboles que estaban el uno enfrente del otro, a cada una en el suyo; donde les dijo que, ya que ellas no tenían cuidado de satisfacer de cuando en cuando por sus pecados con algunas disciplinas, las quería dar una como de su mano. (130)

Elena is unable to escape either the beating or her fate to be constantly tied to Montúfar. At the same time, Elena cannot escape the text, even if she wants to leave, she is brought back to the story and hermetically enclosed within the expectations that the audience has of her. As Edward Friedman remarks: "The protagonist falls victim to the flaws of genealogy, the whims of fate, and the ironies of discourse, none of which she is in a position to control" (95). Elena cannot manipulate the outcome of her story. The third person narration also hints at what her final fate will be: because she is executed, she cannot tell her story with her own voice and will always be perceived as the narrator wished to present her.

After the beating, Montúfar returns to make peace with them. The reason for his return is clear: lucre. He knows that Elena's beauty is the source of his income, and without her, he will lose money: "y reconociendo juntamente que aquel dinero y joyas de la que había despojado era fuerza se le acabasen dentro de algún tiempo, y que el verdadero caudal estaba en la belleza de su rostro […] volvió" (138). After making peace, the three reunite and swear forever friendship, heading to Sevilla where they live as beggars, asking for alms, while within the doors of their home, they enjoy a comfortable life. Their deceit is discovered, and Elena and Montúfar escape justice and make for Madrid, where they marry while Elena begins work as a courtesan. As part of

their marriage agreement, Montúfar accepts that if he wants money, he is destined to be a "cornudo:" "Obligóse Montúfar, cuando se dio por esposo de Elena, a llevar con mucha paciencia y cordura – como marido de seso y, al fin, hombre de tanto asiento en la cabeza – que ella recibiese visitas" (148). The visits that Elena receives are those of her clients, and the reference to the heavy weight on Montúfar's head is a reference to his disgrace as "cornudo." The problems begin when Elena favors a youth who has no prospects and no money, Perico el Zurdo. Jealous and embarrassed, Montúfar beats Elena in the same fashion as before: "sacándola un día por engaño al campo, Montúfar tomó satisfacción imitando el castigo que hizo en ella y en la ya difunta Méndez, camino de Burgos" (151). Again, Elena cannot escape her relationship of "love" and hate with Montúfar. She needs him to maintain a certain semblance of decency, but obviously she finds the company of other men more pleasant. After the beating, Elena plans Montúfar's murder and poisons him. Montúfar, discovering what she has done, tries to kill her with his sword, but instead, he is killed by Perico el Zurdo (152). It would seem that Elena might be able to escape justice as she has done before, but this time, she is not able to do so. Perico el Zurdo is condemned to be hanged, while Elena: "a la tarde la sacaron, causando en los pechos más duros lástima y sentimiento doloroso, al río Manzanares, donde, dándola un garrote, conforme a la ley, la encubaron" (153). Her dead body, put in a barrel, is thrown in the river by which she was born, completing the circle of her life. Just as Celestina suffers a violent end, Elena's life is put to an end in a violent way, with no mercy shown. Elena pays the consequences of committing the most heinous crime: the murder of her husband in a patriarchal society.

Of the three *pícaras* studied in this project, Elena is without a doubt the one who suffers the most severe punishment. Lozana, although ridden with venereal diseases, escapes the sack of Rome and retires with her lifelong lover and friend Rampín. Justina marries various men, including the famous *pícaro* Guzmán de Alfarache, fulfills her wish to become a courtesan, and takes the pen in her old age to tell the story of her life. Elena is repeatedly beaten and abused, and killed in her prime. It is true that Elena commits murder (although it is Perico who actually kills Montúfar), but perhaps the most unforgivable crime that she executes is her constant subversion of patriarchal law and the deception of men with the potential to be productive members of society: "el castigo de Elena y de sus secuaces […] y la reforma y arrepentimiento de Sancho […], sirven a Salas Barbadillo como telón de fondo en que insertar y plasmar dentro de la ficción literaria la ideología moral que se desprende de los libros de conducta y disposiciones legales vigentes en la época" (Zafra 147). For as much as she tries, Elena cannot escape the patriarchal dynamics of power because she is a "second class" citizen, and in the end, she is silenced and physically removed from society since she is not even given burial in a cemetery.

Although Elena's subversion of roles of conduct, especially female roles of conduct, may be part of the reason her punishment is depicted in such a harsh manner, we must not forget her *morisco* origins and the cultural background against which Elena's story takes place. In the process of punishing Elena for her moral sins, Salas Barbadillo is also removing Elena's presence as the daughter of a *morisca* from within Christian society. Francisco Delicado's understanding and presentation of Semitic culture during the exile disappears. Gone also is López de Úbeda's attempt at giving Justina a

recognizable voice for the entertainment of the readers. Instead, Salas Barbadillo, reflecting the final efforts of a Spanish state that wants to see itself free from Orientalized influences in the midst of a Christian nation, silences and brutally condemns Elena to be always under Montúfar's control and under the control of the narrator. It is also significant that Elena, like the other *pícaras*, remains childless. Although Lozana has children, they are taken away from her and she is unable to raise them. Effectively, she is not their mother. Justina mentions no children, and neither does Elena's story. With the disappearance and death of these Orientalized women their heritage dies as well. These characters seem to embody the ethnic minorities in Spain whose fate is to be assimilated for the most part into mainstream Spanish society.

Elena is doubly marginalized, both as a woman and as a member of an ethnic minority. As a woman Elena represents the femme fatale, the reason for the fall of men and her attributes exist and are described in opposition to those of the virtuous Christian woman. As a member of an ethnic minority, Elena's heritage is demonized and tinted in maurophobic overtones. She becomes a representation of those marginalized groups in Spanish society that need to be removed in order to achieve homogeneity. At the end of the book, the narrator allows Elena to speak once again in the first person, although, ironically, already dead. The words come from a poem written in her memory:

> Dos padres virtuosos me engendraron
> (gente de poco gasto en la conciencia):
> Padre gallego y Africana madre
> Después de muerta al agua me arrojaron
> para que se vengase en mi inocencia
> el mayor enemigo de mi padre. (154)

In this poem, Elena makes a clear reference to her mixed origin: she is the daughter of two worlds, Europe and Africa. Most importantly, Elena proclaims herself innocent from

the crimes she has been accused of. The mention of her innocence is a way of expressing her inability to elude a fate that has already been prepared for her. She was born by the water of the river and dies by the water. The water is also her father's enemy, a reference to his drunkenness and his love of wine, but also a reminder of Elena's place as a member of the lowest, poorest classes. Even in this final epitaph, Elena cannot use her own voice. She is once again subjected to narrators and poets that will put the words in her mouth and tell her story for her. Of the three *pícaras*, Elena is the most tragic exotic other in her double marginalization.

CONCLUSIONS

For many years, *pícaras*, even the famous ones like Justina or Lozana, have been relegated as representatives of a marginal form of the picaresque genre. The works in which these female rogues take on the protagonist role have been deemed to be unrefined, obscene or simply of no particular value. This situation contrasts greatly with how positively the canonical picaresque is received in the classroom, in conferences and in publications. The amount of literary criticism dedicated to the three *pícaros* par excellence: Lazarillo, Guzmán and don Pablos is proof of the fact that the *pícaro* is perhaps one of the most well-liked and popular characters of Spanish literature.

As I started this project, I wondered if the woman protagonist, the *pícara*, was the reason why the female picaresque novel seems to be marginalized from not only general literary criticism, but also from most class syllabi. Just as women have traditionally been left at the margins of hierarchal societies (and by women I mean women writers, critics, artists, protagonists, etc.), I could not help but wonder if the *pícara* had been left aside because she is a female rogue, instead of the traditional male *pícaro*. As I began my research, I was pleasantly surprised to realize that two proto-picaresque novels, *La Celestina* and *La Lozana andaluza* had *pícaras* as their main protagonists. It wouldn't be until *Lazarillo de Tormes*, published in 1554, that the canonical picaresque genre was born.

Redefining the genre of the female picaresque was too broad of a subject to approach. Besides, as I soon discovered, *pícaras* have become in the last several years the focus of innovative research by critics such as Anne Cruz, Edward Friedman, Jannine Montauban or Enriqueta Zafra. These critics have brought the *pícara* to the awareness of literary criticism, but more importantly they have approached the primary texts with new perspectives that highlight the importance that they have for studies of Spanish literature and culture. From the role of poverty to the world of prostitution to the voice of the *pícara*, these critics have already established a base for future criticism and analysis of the female picaresque genre. As I looked for new perspectives and read various picaresque texts in which the *pícara* is the protagonist, I looked for a new approach to reading and understanding the female rogue.

I soon realized that some *pícaras* were very obviously portrayed as exotic women. Whether *conversas*, *moriscas* or even a bit of both, the *pícaras* who were Orientalized were also participants in the oldest profession in the world: prostitution. This trait does not appear in the *pícaras* who are not racialized. Nonracialized pícaras trick men, are also interested on financial gain, but they do not prostitute themselves per se. Based on these observations, the two main premises that I felt needed to be answered were: what effect does the racialization of the *pícara* have in her portrayal, and how does the historical context affect the representation of the exotic other in the female picaresque novel. My purpose was to prove how the racialization of the *pícara* helped the author in his portrayal of a deviant, subversive element of society.

The importance of the Orientalizing element that is common to the three main works included in this project, *La Lozana andaluza*, *La pícara Justina* and *La hija de*

Celestina makes it necessary to look at literary production during the Medieval and the Early Modern period that would affect the characterization of the exotic other and the possible ramifications when the exotic other appears in the female picaresque novel. The contextualization of these three works within their specific historical frames brings a new dimension to the interpretation of the *pícara*. Spain is, at the time when the proto-picaresque appears in the Iberian Peninsula, establishing itself as a nascent European power and nation. Because European identity has been historically connected to Christianity, it seems almost unavoidable to work within binary parameters such as "Christian/Muslim" or "white/racialized." European theory still falls into the tendency to define itself based on a binary opposition to an imagined Orient: "Europe's cultural identity […] is fundamentally opposed to Islam and historically formed against its threat, still forms an integral part of today´s theories of Europe […] Europe is the antithesis of […] 'the Orient'" (Dainotto 52). In the case of Spain, its historical background is problematized by the presence of Orientalizing elements in various aspects of culture, from food to even language. How can Spain define itself as a European (which implies an equivalence to being a Christian) nation when Spain is perceived as "different" by the rest of Europe precisely because of its Orientalized culture? The tension that the reality of Orientalizing elements within Spanish culture produces, threatening the fantasy of a homogeneous Christian nation, appears in all three primary texts. The *pícaras* are racialized, they are exotic, they are *conversas*, they are *moriscas*… and they all are Spanish. While Lozana is a representation of the crypto-Jewish exile, Justina references *converso* roots but has close ties to the *morisco* community as well. Elena is a *morisca*, daughter of a slave, and proclaims herself to be the daughter of Celestina, the original

mother of all *pícaras* (and *pícaros*, according to Montauban). These (anti) heroines represent everything that the Spanish state is striving to hide, ignore or assimilate into its mainstream society: they are marginalized and undesirable.

The three authorial voices, Francisco Delicado, López de Úbeda and Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, profit from the perceptions regarding Orientalized women (lasciviousness, aggressiveness, eloquence, beauty), and also the more general stereotypes surrounding the exotic other (greed, transmitters of disease, cunning, lying) when portraying their *pícaras*. The hybrid heritage of their protagonists gives these authors carte blanche to make their (anti)heroines as deviant as they wish, to set them in the world of prostitution and to explicitly describe their activities without fear of reprimand because this type of immoral behavior would be expected of *conversas* or *moriscas*. It would only help to confirm what is already suspected. The binary "them"/"us" utilized to define Europe through its comparison, and as "naturally" opposed, to the Orient, also works in the context of the racialized *pícara*, since these women are portrayed as a direct opposite from the idealized Christian woman. If the Christian woman is described with an innocent, ethereal beauty, the *pícara* is sultry and exotic. If the Christian woman is supposed to be silent and to remain at home, the *pícara* speaks her mind and travels. If the Christian woman is supposed to be virtuous and morally clean, the *pícara* is sexualized and portrayed as promiscuous.

Two unexpected aspects of my research were the influence that the author's background has in the characterization of the pícara, and the historical influence of maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies in the representations of the exotic other. Francisco Delicado, a Jewish convert writes *La Lozana andaluza* in 1528. Lozana's story

is told but three decades after the last expulsions of the Jews from Spain and during the first exiles of crypto-Jews to other places in the Mediterranean. Delicado's Jewish background is blatantly included in the text, Lozana becoming an almost "alter-ego" of his. Delicado does manipulate the negative stereotypes about Jews and *conversos* in that he portrays Lozana as promiscuous and a carrier of syphilis, but he makes her exceedingly beautiful and attractive. Lozana is, out of the three *pícaras*, the one with the most autonomy and talent to thrive and procure a living for herself. Perhaps Delicado's commonalities with Lozana, especially due to their crypto-Jew background, helps him present a sympathetic portrait of Lozana, saving her in the end from death during the Sack of Rome.

La pícara Justina is published in 1605. Only a few years earlier, *moriscos* had been revolting in the Alpujarras due to the cultural constraints imposed on them and by 1605 their expulsion is imminent. It is believed that López de Úbeda was a *converso* himself, but there is not enough factual evidence to support this claim. There is definitely not the same amount of knowledge about Jewish or Muslim customs as there is in *La Lozana andaluza*. López de Úbeda's Justina is also presented as an attractive, Orientalized woman of both *converso* and *morisco* origins. Like Delicado, López de Úbeda draws on the negative stereotyping of ethnic minorities in Spain and gives Justina a natural inclination to make money to the point of being greedy. He also portrays her as promiscuous and, again, as a carrier of diseases. Unlike Lozana, Justina does not retain her good looks in her old age, but she is described as having been in her youth extremely beautiful, with exotic features, and as obviously being attractive to men. Although López de Úbeda is not as sympathetic with Justina as Delicado proves to be with Lozana, he

does grant her wish of becoming a courtesan in Madrid and marries her in the end to the famous *pícaro* Guzmán de Alfarache, giving her in the process a touch of celebrity.

Jerónimo Salas de Barbadillo publishes *La hija de Celestina* in 1612, three years after the final expulsion of the *moriscos* from the Iberian Peninsula. Elena is portrayed as devious, immoral and beautiful. Her beauty is again described in Orientalizing terms, and Salas Barbadillo also takes advantage of the stereotypes about *moriscos* when constructing Elena's character. Like her predecessors, Elena emerges as a dual being, attractive, yet socially repulsive. However, her fate is not as kind as Lozana or Justina's. Where Lozana and Justina show a certain morality under particular circumstances, Elena's character does not exhibit any dimension other than deviancy and amorality. She is almost demonic in nature and this characterization, drawn heavily from maurophobia, shows the decay that the representations of Spain's ethnic minorities suffer as their political situation deteriorates in the Iberian Peninsula. Out of the three *pícaras*, Elena is silent: we hear her through the filter of a third-person narration, and out of the three, it is Elena who is killed in a violent manner, successfully eradicating her from Spanish society. The fact that Salas Barbadillo has no known connections (not even speculative) to the Spanish ethnic minorities accentuates the dynamic white male author/Orientalized prostitute and the consequences in her condemnation and vanishing from society.

The *pícara*'s racialization allows for a freer account of her sexual escapades and the historical background proves to be more influential in the characterization of the *pícara* than predicted at the beginning of the project. Even the ethnic origins of the authors, whether assured, suspected or indeterminate, seems to play a part in how the *pícara* is presented to the audience and her final fate in the text. The racialization of the

pícara permits the author to continue Europe's tradition of defining itself in a relative manner, by comparing itself to the Orient. Europe is that which the Orient is not, and vice versa. By utilizing the same binary concept, but adapting it to the Orientalized *pícara*/pious *cristiana* dyad, the representations of the *pícara* reinforce the ideal of how a Christian woman should behave.

Lozana, Justina and Elena are only three examples from the female picaresque novel genre set in a specific moment in time, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although it may seem that these three *pícaras* belong to a precise moment in the Spanish past that is of no relevance to the present, "to understand Spain today, you must understand both parts of the national narrative and its multiple perspectives on gender, religion, ethnicity, and race" (Grieve 26). Even today in parts of Eastern Spain there are celebrations that imitate *escaramuzas* like the one that Antonio de Lalaing was witness to in the court of Felipe el Hermoso centuries ago. In these current reenactments, called *Moros i Cristians*, a mimetic performance of the Orientalized other occurs and the same need for the Christian side to "prevail" over the Moor is central to the performance: the Christian side always wins. Although in later years the clothing worn by the Christian soldiers have gone from simple and plain to almost as intricate and rich as the ones worn by the Moorish soldiers, there is still latent the objectification of the Moor through their luxuriant clothing and appearance. And, of course, in these reenactments it is possible to see the difference between the visual representations of both Christian and Arab women. The Christian women dress in full length Medieval style outfits while they solemnly walk to the rhythm of the music, while the exotic woman is scantily dressed, and in many cases she dances and flirts with her audience following the beat of drums, flutes and *dolçaines*.

Ironically, it has in recent times been possible to see the changing face of Spain in the form of new Arab immigrants, arrived mostly from Northern Africa. In the audience, Arab women covered in veils and silks from head to toe watch these tantalizing representations of the Oriental, supposedly representations of themselves. Perhaps these dancing Orientalized women are as foreign to the modern Arab as they are attractive to the Occident.

Francisco Delicado, López de Úbeda and Alonso de Salas Barbadillo portray their protagonists as Orientalized prostitutes intentionally. Lozana with her beauty and sexual wantonness, Justina with her complicated rhetoric and greed and Elena with her deviancy and attractiveness operate always under the watchful glance of the masculine narrator. The diegetic dynamic between narrator and pícara showcases the control the pícara is under. This dynamic also implies the dynamics of power between Occident and the Orient, in which the Occident has the power to create a specific image of the East. As Delicado, Úbeda and Barbadillo put into practice the Orientalized construction of the *pícara*, they take advantage of stereotypes and perceptions about the Muslim and Jewish communities. Doubly-marginalized because of their gender and their Orientalized background, all three of these *pícaras* are products of a long tradition of maurophilia and maurophobia in Spanish literary production. They are alluring in their beauty (due to maurophilia) and objectified, demonized and exploited without fear of reprimand (due to maurophobia). The historical context within which these works are written only exacerbates these maurophilic and maurophobic tendencies. Contextualized within the fantasy of the nation, the *pícara* is that which Spain as European nation *should* not be.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Nicholson B. *España: Introducción a su civilización*. New York: Holt, 1947.

Alemán, Mateo. *Vida y hechos del pícaro Guzmán del Alfarache*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2006.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. "The Homeland, Aztlán." *Borderlands: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999.

Bataillon, Marcel. *Pícaros y picaresca: La Pícara Justina*. Madrid: Taurus ediciones, 1969.

Bergman, Emile. "The Exclusion of the Feminine in the Cultural Discourse of the Golden Age: Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de León." *Religion, Body and Gender in Early modern Spain*. Ed. Alain Saint-Saens. San Francisco: Melen Research, UP, 1991. 124-136.

Bernabé Pons, Luis. "María Jesús Rubiera y sus estudios sobre los orígenes de las Jarchas romances." *Sharq Al Andalus* 1993-94 (10-11): 135-146.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Brazier, Janna Evans and Anita Mannur. "Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Contention in Diaspora Studies." *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Cammarata, Joan F. "Introduction." *Women in the Discourse of Early Modern Spain*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. 1-15.

Case, Thomas E. "Cide Hamete Benengeli y los Libros plúmbeos." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2002 (22): 9-24.

Chiclana, Angel. "Introducción." *La Lozana andaluza*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1988. 15-62.

Childers, William. "*Don Quijote* and the War of the Alpujarras: The Historical Debasement of Chivalry as a Correlative to Its Literary Parody." *Hispania* 2005 (88): 11-19.

Cooley, Jennifer. "De *La Lozana Andaluza* a *La perfecta casada*: La mujer de la primera modernidad española y la palabra subversiva." *Dona i literatura. Quaderns de filología*, 3. Ed. Ferran Carbó. Valencia: Univ. de Valencia, 1997. 141-157.

---, *Courtiers, Courtesans, Pícaros and Prostitutes: The Art and Artifice of Selling One's Self in Golden Age Spain*. New Orleans: UP of the South, 2002.

Costa Fontes, Manuel da. *The Art of Subversion in Inquisitorial Spain: Rojas and Delicado*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2005.

Cruz, Anne. *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

---, "Introduction." *Approaches to Teaching Lazarillo de Tormes and the Picaresque Tradition*. New York: MLA, 2008. 1-9.

Dainotto, Roberto. *Europe (in Theory)*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007.

Damiani, Bruno. *Francisco Delicado*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974.

Darst, David H. *Converting Fiction: Counter Reformational Closure in the Secular Literature of Golden Age Spain*. Chapel Hill: UNC, 1998.

Delicado, Francisco. *La Lozana andaluza*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988.

Dodds, Jerrilynn D., María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2008.

Dopico Black, Georgina. *Perfect Wives, Other Women*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Doubleday, Simon R. "*O que foi passar a serra*: Frontier-crossing and the Thirteenth-century Castilian Nobility in the *Cantigas de escarnio e maldizer*." *Le médiéviste et la monographie familiale: sources, methods et problematiques.* Martin Aurell, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004. 189-200.

Fogelquist, James Donald. "Pedro de Corral's Reconfiguration of La Cava in the *Crónica del Rey don Rodrigo*." *eHumanista: Monographs in Humanities* 2003 (3): 2-76.

Fortes Ruiz, María Remedios. "Saberes y costumbres de las mujeres a través de *La Lozana andaluza*." *La vida cotidiana andaluza a través de los documentos con valor historicolinguístico y dialectal*. Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2006.

Fourquet-Reed, Linnette. *Protofeminismo, erotismo y comida en La Lozana andaluza*. Potomac: Scripta Humanista, 2004.

Frenk Alatorre, Margit. *Las jarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica*. El colegio de México: México DF, 1975.

Freud, Sigmund. *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*. Trans. A.A. Brill. New York: Modern Library, 1938.

Friedman, Edward. *The Antiheroine's Voice: Narrative Discourse and Transformations of the Picaresque*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam and European Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.

---, *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity*. University of Illinois Press, 2003.

---, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Gamboa, Yolanda. "La producción cultural femenina en el romancero sefardí." GEMELA Conference. University of California Long Beach, California. 2 October 2008.

García Gómez, Emilio. *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*. Seix Barral: Barcelona, 1975.

García Santo-Tomás, Enrique. "Introducción." *La hija de Celestina*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2008. 9-72.

Gilroy, Paul. "Identity, Belonging, and the Critique of Pure Sameness." *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2000. 97-134.

Grieve, Patricia E. *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim and Jewish Contact*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2009.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Theorizing Diaspora*. Eds. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003. 233-246.

Harllee, Carol. "Neither Seen nor Heard: Women in the Spanish Sixteenth-Century Conduct Dialogue." *eHumanista Journal of Iberian Studies* 2009 (12): 202-230.

Heng, Geraldine. "'A Great Way to Fly': Nationalism, the State, and the Varieties of Third-World Feminism." *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. Eds. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. New York: Routledge, 1997. 30-45.

Hernández-Pecoraro, Rosilie. "Jarifa's Choice: A Gendered Reading of *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 2002 (79): 429-446.

Kaeuper, Richard. "Introduction." *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 1-46.

Kamen, Henry. *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763*. New York: HaperCollins Publishers Inc., 2004.

Lacan, Jacques. *Feminine Sexuality*. Eds. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

León, Luis de. *La perfecta casada*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1967.

Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Liu, Benjamin. "'Affined to Love the Moor:' Sexual Misalliance and Cultural Mixing in *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*." *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutchison, eds. New York: Duke UP, 1999. 48-69.

López-Baralt, Luce. *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1985.

López Estrada, Francisco, ed. *El Abencerraje*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.

López de Úbeda, Francisco. *Libro de entretenimiento de la pícara Justina*. León: El búho viajero, 2004.

Marchante-Aragón, Lucas. "The King, the Nation and the Moor: Imperial Spectacle and the Rejection of Hybridity in *The Masque of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8 (2008): 98-133.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia UP, 1999.

Menocal, María Rosa. *The Ornament of the World*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2002.

Montauban, Jannine. *El ajuar de la vida picaresca*. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2003.

---, *La picaresca en la otra margen*. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2010.

Mujica, Bárbara. "Introduction." *Women Writers of Early Modern Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. 23-80.

Olivares, Julián. Ed. "Introducción." *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*. Julián Olivares, ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007. 9-147.

Patai, Raphael. *The Hebrew Goddess*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1990.

Pérez de Hita, Ginés. *Guerras civiles de Granada. Primera parte.* Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1982.

Pérez Venzalá, Valentín. "Del bufón al pícaro: el caso de *La pícara Justina*." *Dicenda: Cuadernos de filología hispánica* 17 (1999): 215-250.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. "Behind the Veil: Moriscas and the Politics of Resistance and Survival." *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*. Magdalena Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns, eds. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996. 37-53.

---, *The Handless Maiden*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005.

"Pragmática Sanción de 1567." Felipe II.

Río, Angel del. *Historia de la literatura española: desde los orígenes hasta 1700*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963.

Rodríguez Mansilla, Fernando. "'Quien bien ata, bien desata': *La hija de Celestina* de Salas Barbadillo." *eHumanista Journal of Iberian Studies* 2006 (6): 114-131.

Rojas, Fernando de. *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Barcelona: Edicomunicación, 1994.

Rose, Jacqueline. "Introduction II." *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*. By Jacques Lacan. Eds. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose. New York: Norton and Company, Inc., 1982. 27-59.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, 1978.

Salas Barbadillo, Alonso Jerónimo. *La hija de Celestina*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2008.

Scarlett, Elizabeth. *Under Construction: the Body in Spanish Novels*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Solá-Solé, Josep. *Las jarchas romances y sus moaxajas*. Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1990.

Valbuena, Olga Lucía. "Love Magic, and the Inquisition of Linguistic Sorcery in *Celestina*." *PMLA* 1994 (109): 207-224.

Vives, Joan Lluis. *De officio mariti. Biblioteca Digital Valenciana*. 13 April 2010 <http://bv2.gva.es/i18n/corpus/unidad.cmd?idUnidad=10109&idCorpus=1&posicion=1>.

---, *La formación de la mujer cristiana. Biblioteca Digital Valenciana*. 31 May 2011 <http://bv2.gva.es/i18n/corpus/unidad.cmd?idCorpus=1&idUnidad=10075&posicion=1>

---, *Los deberes del marido. Biblioteca Digital Valenciana.* 31 May 2011 <http://bv2.gva.es/i18n/corpus/unidad.cmd?idCorpus=1&idUnidad=10115&posicion=1>

Wolfenzon, Carolyn. "*La Lozana andaluza*: judaísmo, sífilis, exilio y creación." *Hispanic Research Journal* 2007 (8): 107-122.

Yeğenoğlu, Meyda. *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.

Zafra, Enriqueta. *Prostituidas por el texto: Discurso prostibulario en la picaresca femenina*. Purdue UP, 2008.

Zayas y Sotomayor, María de. *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*. Julián Olivares, ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007.